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THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAPAL MONARCHY *

Long standing theories die hard. One such theory, and an especial favorite with many historians, is that the centralization in the hands of the pope of administrative authority over the Church is a creation of the eleventh century. Thus, for example, the author of a work published in 1931 sums up the first eleven centuries of Church government as follows: ". . . Gregory I was not an advocate of a monarchical papacy, but believed that the sovereignty of the Church reposed in the councils-general of the Church, of whose findings the pope was the executive. This was the constitutional theory of church government in the Middle Ages down to the middle of the eleventh century, when the revolution wrought by Leo IX and Gregory VII began."[1] In another work, popular a century ago and still often cited, it is put thus: "By degrees, the popes began to carry into effect this idea of an *episcopus universalis* in all its applications. In this they were materially aided by the oath which Gregory VII had introduced for the metropolitans."[2] The words are meant to apply to the popes from the middle of the eleventh century, and in this sense have historians generally and without question accepted them.

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[1] James Westfall Thompson, *The Middle Ages*, I, 175.

[2] John C. L. Gieseler, *Text-Book of Church History, A. D. 1-1648* (English trans. by Francis Cunningham, Phila., 1836), vol. 2, p. 255.

Possibly the reason why this notion has been so readily accepted is the common knowledge that the popes in the earlier centuries did not exercise that close supervision over the episcopate that exists today. But does this imply that the popes themselves recognized any lack of the right to do so? In the light of what follows it will be apparent that this is evidently not the explanation. Much was left by the popes to the metropolitans and to the bishops in the early days for the same reason that much was left by the kings to their subordinates. Lack of means for speedy communication made any other policy impossible. The abundance of papal letters in the centuries before Gregory VII's time to various ecclesiastics throughout the then known and Christianized world shows clearly that both the popes and the bishops recognized the monarchical structure of the Church's administration. As organization spread and improved the centralizing tendency naturally became more pronounced and conspicuous in practice, as is the case again in the administrative policy of the kings.

The jurisdiction of Rome over the bishops outside certain parts of Italy was, therefore, mediate in practice, though not in theory, and continued so, but to a gradually diminishing extent, long after the days of Gregory VII, until, in fact, 1568. However, though mediate it was none the less real. It was through the close contact maintained with the metropolitans that the popes directed the bishops and through the latter the lower clergy. One cannot reasonably maintain, for instance, that the professor of history is not under the jurisdiction of the president of his university merely because he receives his instructions immediately from the head of his department. Yet that is the type of logic commonly employed by historians when treating of this subject.

Frequently another type of illogical procedure is responsible for an erroneous conclusion in this regard. It consists in attempting to solve the problem as to how and when the pope acquired the power over the universal Church, which he so palpably exercised at the end of the sixteenth century, by begging the question. Thus some have given papal provisions, finance, or taxation as the answer, failing to realize that they have merely provided us with so many illustrations of how centralization worked. The question as to how it was effected, however, is left unanswered.

Another explanation often urged is that the whole process of centralization is built upon the Pseudo-Isadorian Decretals. The object of such a line of argument is, of course, to prove that the jurisdiction of the pope over the universal Church rests upon a forgery and therefore has no validity. The futility of the argument is easily demonstrated. It is generally admitted that the first pope to appeal to the decretals was Nicholas I in 864 in a controversy with Hincmar of Rheims over the deposition by the latter of Rothad, Bishop of Soissons. By that date, however, conciliar decrees and papal practice for at least two centuries past had gotten well under way, precisely the custom which the decretals are claimed to have inaugurated. The importance of the decretals in relation to the development of the papal monarchy can well, therefore, be disposed of in the words of a recent writer. "Since they merely confirmed principles already enunciated by the papacy, the work as a whole cannot be held to have changed the course of history." [8]

The obvious approach to the problem before us, it would seem, should be through an investigation of papal and conciliar pronouncements for evidence of some tendency that progresses steadily from incident to custom, to law, and which vitally affects the process of centralization. That such a tendency is discoverable comes to light in an investigation of the episcopal oath, *i. e.,* the oath which every bishop today, at the time of his consecration, takes to the pope. There is no doubt that this oath has been largely responsible, not for the evolution of the "idea of the *episcopus universalis* in all its applications," but as the practical means of carrying out this idea.

In whatever form it might have been cast the oath was never regarded as a mere formality. On the contrary, it was throughout the middle ages the only means of control over the episcopate which the popes could use. High-handed princes might and often did interfere in local ecclesiastical matters to their own political advantage, but the lower clergy still faced the obligations of their profession of faith and obedience to their bishop, the latter had his obligations to his metropolitan and he in turn to the pope. It may be urged that this was but a tenuous thread of control, but it was the only means that the society of that day knew. The thread might be snapped by an ambitious metropolitan or a fractious bishop, but the aggrieved party could and did appeal to the pope and the latter was prompt to remind the offender of his oath. If the guilty party proved contumacious, the usual ecclesiastical penalties were invoked and in addition public opinion frowned upon him as a perjurer. To the modern mind that may not seem to have been a very drastic penalty, but what the medieval mind thought of such men is plain from the sculptural adornments of their cathedrals and town halls and also from the sermons and literature of that day that have been preserved to us.

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[8] Carl Stephenson, *Medieval History* (New York, 1935), 241.

If the episcopal oath, therefore, played so conspicuous a part in the process of centralization, what is the history of that oath. Did it suddenly appear out of a clear sky in the days of Gregory VII, as is commonly maintained, or was the eleventh century oath of fidelity but an evolution during the feudal age of an already ancient oath of obedience, which in turn had developed out of an earlier profession of faith? If the latter be the case, then the idea of the *episcopus universalis* adds centuries to its age, and another favorite must, however unwillingly, be relegated to the limbo of historical fiction.

II.

Taking this oath, then, as an index of the historical extension of the papal monarchy, what is its origin and to what degree had it developed by the eleventh century? During the first centuries of the Church's existence one looks in vain for any suggestion of the episcopal oath. Several reasons are at hand, however, to explain this fact. In the apostolic age with its fresh and abounding zeal such an exaction would have been regarded as uncalled for. Besides, though the use of the oath on solemn occasions and for legal attestations was not prohibited, there was the rather common tendency among the early Christians to regard the oath in general not only as something not to be taken lightly, but not at all. In fact, by some of the early writers to put any Christian upon his oath was looked upon as an indignity.[4] Hence the likelihood of the clergy taking it to one another at this time is quite out of the question.

In the immediately following period the conspicuous part played by the laity in the election of a bishop puts the probability of the oath equally out of the question. Certainly it would not have been regarded as the right order of things for a bishop-elect to swear obedience to the people who had chosen him, since they were his subjects. Neither would he have given an oath of obedience to the consecrating prelate, since, save for the preëminence of the Bishop of Rome, one bishop was not regarded as in any way dependent upon another. Indeed, the bishops during this period guarded their independence jealously and even asserted it to the extent of intruding into one another's diocese, as the frequent prohibition of this practice in the various synods of the fourth century prove.

Furthermore, though the metropolitans by this same century had acquired a certain precedence, they had no little difficulty in asserting and maintaining this position, as is evident from the wording of canon 9 of the Synod of Antioch, A. D. 341.[5] Their rights with regard to the consecration of bishops and the calling of a synod are, indeed, definitely established by this same council in canons 19 and 20, but the common recognition of this right to consecrate, at any rate in being regarded as their sole right, was long in coming. Otherwise the frequent insistence upon this privilege by subsequent councils is unintelligible.[6] It is only at about the beginning of the fifth century that the decrees of the various councils of the preceding centuries produce their final results. From this time forward we observe a well-defined distinction between the metropolitan or head of an ecclesiastical province, the archbishop of today, and the head of a *paroikia* or diocese, the bishop of today, both in regard to honor and jurisdiction.

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[4] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromat.*, VII, 8; Migne, *Pat. Graeca*, IX, 474.

[5] "Episcopos qui sunt in unaquaque provincia, scire oportet episcopum, qui praeest metropoli, etiam curam suscipere totius provinciae . . ." Mansi, *Concilia*, II, 1311.

[6] See canons 6 and 7, Synod of Riez in Gaul, A. D. 439; Mansi, *Concilia*, V, 1194: Canons 5 and 6, Second Synod of Arles, A. D. 452; Mansi, VII, 879: Canon 2, Synod of Clermont in Auvergne, A. D. 535; Mansi, VIII, 860.

What may be called the germinal idea of the later written and attested *professio fidei* and the *sacramentum obedientiae,* namely, the *examen fidei,* was in use from the earliest times. The custom of this examination of faith as a preliminary to consecration is made obligatory as early as 363 A. D. in canon 12 of the Synod of Laodicea and is repeated in canon 20 of the Synod of Hippo in 393.[7]

Early in the fourth century, too, no doubt as the result of the frequently recurring heresies of the period, it became customary for all prelates, including the pope, to make a written profession of faith at the time of consecration. This *epistola synodica,* as it is termed by Gregory the Great, consisted in a circular letter written by the early bishops and sent to other bishops to give them an account of the faith and orthodoxy of the newly consecrated prelate, that the latter might receive in return letters of peace and communion. Not to have done this made one at least suspect of heresy. Thus was taken the next in the series of steps leading to the oath as required today. Other circumstances, too, helped to prepare the way. As time passed, the oath in general came to be regarded with less disfavor by Christians, and by the beginning of the fifth century the clergy had more and the laity had decidedly less to do with the election of a new bishop.

The first transition from the profession of faith to the promise of obedience was effected during the fifth century. The obedience of the lower clergy to the bishop, which had hitherto either been taken for granted or only indirectly legislated for, is from the beginning of this century expressly prescribed by various councils.[8] No prescription in this regard for bishops or metropolitans is to be found, either as issued by the pope or by the councils of the century.

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[7] In later centuries reference in this regard is invariably made not to these synods, but to the so-called Fourth Synod of Carthage, A. D. 398. Canon 1 of this synod reads: "He who is to be ordained bishop must first be examined whether he is prudent, teachable, of gentle manners . . . above all whether he openly acknowledges the chief points of the faith, *i. e.* . . . If he passes the examination he shall be consecrated bishop with the consent of the clergy and laity, in the presence of all the bishops of the province and especially with the authority of the metropolitan." Mansi, III, 949.

The incident, therefore, in the reign of Pope St. Leo the Great, 440-461, is unique. In a letter to Anastasius, Bishop of Thessalonica, who had been appointed vicar-apostolic by the pope, St. Leo protests the exaction of an oath of obedience from Atticus, Bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus.[9] It is to be noted that there is no question here of an ordination oath. The significance of the incident lies rather in the fact that it is the first instance of an oath of obedience being required from a bishop by his metropolitan.

The circumstances that brought it about are briefly the following. Anastasius as vicar-apostolic of Illyria had summoned the suffragan bishops of the province to a synod. Atticus as Bishop of Nicopolis was requested to attend, but for sufficient reasons delayed his coming. Thereupon, through the agency of the Prefect of Illyria, Anastasius forced his attendance and required from him in the course of the synod the above-mentioned oath. Did Anastasius have any precedent or authority for his action? The evidence is all to the contrary. In fact, the pope had many occasions to write him in order to moderate the metropolitan's high-handed methods of dealing with others.[10] Plainly, therefore, we have here an innovation, the product merely of Anastasius's own idea of what might or should be done.

The next mention of the oath occurs a century later during the pontificate of Vigilius, 537-555, who received a written oath of obedience from Sebastian before ordaining the latter deacon.[11]

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[8] Decreta Gratiana, Pars I, Dist. LXXIV, 4, taken from the Council of Carthage, A. D. 419: that clergy and deacons must obey the bishops; and from the Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, canons 8 and 18, that the clergy should be obedient and subject to the bishop.

[9] Leo Magnus, ep. 14, c. 1, § 2; Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LIV, 670.

[10] Leo Magnus, ep. 14, c. 1, § 1; *ibid.*

[11] Fifth General Council at Constantinople, A. D. 550, Synod VII, Collatio 7; Mansi, IX, 354. The profession of faith required by Pope Hormisdas in 517

During the interval, then, the attitude of Pope St. Leo has been reversed. What effected this change in the mind of the highest authority in the Church? It is pertinent first to observe that in the case of Pope Vigilius the oath was not demanded but was accepted when voluntarily offered by one of whose suitability for the office in question there seems to have been grave doubt. Again, therefore, it is an exceptional matter, not the result of any established law or custom. Still, neither is it now regarded as anything unbecoming or illicit.

The reason for the changed view is to be traced doubtless to the frequently recurring heresies and to the prevailing factional strife that was hastening the collapse of the crumbling fabric of the old political institutions, and which to a degree had penetrated into the affairs of the Church. This fact is well illustrated by the situation facing the popes during the second quarter of the sixth century. Felix IV, 526-530, had before his death, to avoid the danger of a schism, given his pallium to his archdeacon, Boniface, and nominated him as his successor. However, probably as a protest against the procedure, the clergy elected Dioscorous, who died within a short time. Thereupon Boniface II, 530-532, was elected. He in turn attempted to secure the papal succession to the above-mentioned Vigilius, then deacon, by exacting an oath from all the clergy at the synod he had convened in the basilica of St. Peter to elect Vigilius as his successor.[12] This action aroused violent opposition and Boniface, repenting of his error, burned the written oaths, but he had set a precedent which Vigilius followed in a modified form.

Pelagius I, 555-560, also had recourse to the oath in the case of the Bishop of Syracuse, whom the pope refused to ordain until he had given a *cautio* that he would not alienate any ecclesiastical property.[13] This is undoubtedly the first instance in which a bishop pledges himself under oath not to alienate the ecclesiastical

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from John, Bishop of Nicopolis, and his synod, is not to the purpose, as it is but a precaution against the heresy of Acacius. Mansi, VIII, 402, ep. vii.

[12] Migne, LXV, 30.

[13] Decreta Gratiana, Pars I, Dist. XXVIII, 13. See also Epistola Pelagii ad Cethegum Patricium, Mansi, IX, 733.

property entrusted to his administration. There is no doubt also but that we must attribute ultimately the clause concerning alienation in the oath today to this incident. The idea finds its way through the ages principally owing to the fact that it was incorporated into the *cautio episcopi,* formula 74, of the Liber Diurnus.

Another important contributing cause to the development of the episcopal oath is the Caesaro-Papism of the emperors and the aggravating situations growing out of it. An illustration touching the matter in hand is the violent and long-drawn out controversy waged during the sixth century between the popes and the imperial party over the question of the Three Chapters. The schism resulting from this dispute, which began with Justinian's edict of 543 condemning the writings of Theodore of Mopsuesta, of Theodoret of Cyrus, and a letter of Ibas of Edessa for their Nestorianism, came to an end in the West only with the final submission of the provinces of Milan and Aquileia in 607.

During this period, beginning with Pelagius II, 578-590, the practice was introduced by the pope of demanding a sworn statement of faith written and signed by the metropolitan's or the bishop's own hand. The first instance of this is the *cautio* or *libellus* required from Laurentius, Archbishop of Milan, by Pelagius II.[14] Whether his successor Gregory the Great, 590-604, did the same in regard to Constantius, the successor to Laurentius, is disputed. That the formula as given in the *Regesta Epistolarum Gregorii Magni*[15] was the one required of Constantius, as some believe, is not likely. Most probably it was composed for Firmius, Bishop of Istria, whose position as one returned from heresy more properly corresponds to the wording of the oath. The significance, however, of the action of Pelagius, as in the case cited during the reign of Pope Leo the Great, lies in the fact that it is an oath of one prelate to a higher, though in this case an oath to preserve the faith and to remain in unity with the Holy See. The present instance also has an added significance in so far as it is required at ordination. And precisely in this setting does it within a very short time become a custom through its incorporation into the Liber Diurnus in form 73.

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[14] Baronius, *Annales*, X, A. D. 581, n. 2, p. 363.

[15] Append. ad ep. X; Migne, LXXVII, 1347: and Epist. Greg. Magni, Lib. 4, ep. 2 and 3; *ibid.*, 670. For Gregory's letter to Constantius, cf. M. G. H., Greg. I Regesta IV, 37, ep. 1 and 2, p. 272.

The Justinian Code also played an important part in the change of attitude toward the oath that is manifest in the sixth century. Here we find it prescribed that the electors in ecclesiastical preferments must take an oath to the effect that they did not select the nominee from any improper motive, while at ordination the candidate was to swear upon the Gospels that he had given no money to be ordained.[16]

Another bit of evidence in the same century of the growing desire to secure a better type of ecclesiastic by means of some sort of solemn promise is to be found in the words of the synod at Valencia, in 524, that the bishop may not ordain anyone who has not first promised to remain in his position.[17] Perhaps we have here a reflection of the newly introduced monastic vow of stability; certainly, at any rate, the recognition of the fact that its equivalent was needed for the secular clergy. The idea seems also at this early date to have found its way into France, as Gregory of Tours, 573-595, says that he received an oath of fidelity from one of his clergy at the tomb of St. Martin.[18]

In the seventh century we find the beginning of a steady trend towards the adoption of the oath as a recognized aid to secure greater fidelity to duty on the part of the clergy. The idea was particularly promoted in Spain by a whole series of councils scattered through the century. In 633, the fourth Council of Toledo, canon 27, required that priests and deacons on their appointment to a parish must make a profession to their bishop "ut caste et pure vivant sub Dei timore."[19] The Council of Merida, A. D. 666, canon 4, extends the obligation to bishops and metropolitans as well.[20] The enactions of these two councils, however, cannot be called either a profession of faith or of obedience in the later sense of the terms, except in so far as the ordinandus obligates himself through the canons which he promises to obey. Hence it is that it is given not only by the parochial clergy to their bishop and by the bishop to his metropolitan, but also by the latter to the bishops of his province in synod assembled.

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[16] Novel., cxxiii, 1 and cxxxvii, 2. [17] Mansi, VIII, 623, capit. 6.

[18] *Hist. Francorum*, Lib. V, c. 49; Migne, LXXI, 364.

[19] Mansi, X, 627. [20] Mansi, XI, 78.

The final step in the development in Spain is taken by the eleventh Council of Toledo, A. D. 675, in canon 10. It requires that everyone raised to an ecclesiastical dignity must make a solemn promise to his ecclesiastical superior to preserve the faith and observe the canons.[21] Here we have the first general law requiring a promise to observe the canons, to be made at the time of ordination on the part of the lower clergy to the bishop and of the later to his metropolitan. Nothing is said in the canon of a promise of the metropolitan to the pope who is his superior, so he is probably at the time of the Council of Toledó XI still following the prescription of the Council of Merida, that is, making a promise to his synod, a custom which continues, at least in some countries, for several centuries to come.

We also find in forms 73, 74, 75 of the Liber Diurnus further confirmation of the growing practice. We have not yet here got the later explicit oath of obedience, but in the three forms we find embodied most of the details of the later oath. Form 73 is a lengthy *Promissio fidei Episcopi,* likely conceived in part in the fifth century and in its final form probably the work of Pope Leo II, 682-683.[22] Form 74 is the *Cautio Episcopi,* in which he promises to shun simoniacal practices, not to alienate ecclesiastical property, to distribute the tithes as required by law, to attend to his own diocese, to make an *ad limina* visit each year and in some detail promises faithful performance of his religious duties.[23] Form 75 is the *Indiculum Episcopi,* which is a real oath to preserve the faith in all its purity and to maintain unity with the Apostolic See.[24] From the pallium forms in the Liber Diurnus, especially numbers 45 and 46, we learn that this special mark of honor is conferred only after a repeated *professio fidei* on the part of the recipient of the distinction.

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[21] Mansi, XI, 143.

[22] Theodore von Sickel, *Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum* (Vienna, 1889), introd., xix, xxx; William Peitz, *Liber Diurnus* (Vienna, 1918), 9; E. De Rozieré, *Liber Diurnus* (Paris, 1869), 136.

[23] Garnerius believes that this form is largely based upon epistle 9 of Pope Gelasius, but that it shows much evidence of Gregorian discipline. Rozieré, *Liber Diurnus,* p. 146. For this letter of Gelasius, cf. Mansi, VIII, 35.

Hence the profession of faith, which in the earliest ages of the Church was spontaneously sent to all other prelates by the newly-created bishop in the circular form of the *epistola synodica,* has taken on a new significance. With the fourth century it had come to be required of all priests at the time of ordination. By the early councils it had been shaped into the *examinatio fidei* held prior to ordination, and by the end of the seventh century it had been cast into a definite canonical form required from all. The promise to observe the canons is also explicitly required from all. There have also been up to this time isolated instances of the oath of obedience, but it has not yet in any way been reduced to custom except in the case of those bishops immediately subject to the Holy See.

In the eighth century the custom was extended beyond the immediate circle of Rome and confirmed in those parts of Italy into which it had been already introduced in the preceding century. An interesting illustration of the latter process is provided by the case of Felix, Archbishop of Ravenna, who made no little difficulty over the oath for Pope Constantine I, 708-715. From the account of the affair which we possess in the *Historia de Vitis Romanorum Pontificum* by Anastasius[25] it is evident that the oath at this date is not something new for Ravenna. Political relations, however, between Rome and Ravenna were rapidly approaching the breaking point and ecclesiastical relations were showing the result of the strain. Ravenna had for some time been anxious to achieve ecclesiastical independence of Rome, a danger that became especially critical after the Emperor Constans

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[24] Franciscus A. Zaccaria, *De Rebus ad Historiam atque Antiquitates Ecclesiae Pertinentibus* (Fulginiae, 1781), Tome 2, Dissertatio 13, c. 1, n. 5, p. 268, holds that this form was very likely composed by Pelagius II and modified by Gregory the Great for the Lombard bishops into form 76.

[25] Mansi, XII, 178; Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXXVIII, 947.

II in 666 had openly sanctioned such an attempt.[26] Under such circumstances it is not strange that Felix and his immediate successors should refuse and that the pope should the more strenuously insist upon the giving of the usual solemn promise of the archbishop, in order to maintain a close and dependent relation of Ravenna to the Apostolic See.

The first non-Italian prelate to take the oath to the pope was St. Boniface at the time of his consecration in Rome to the See of Mayence in 722. In the *Life of St. Boniface* it is stated that the pope, Gregory II, 715-731, demanded the oath of obedience from Boniface on this occasion.[27] Boniface did not demur, but on the contrary decidedly approved of the idea. In a letter to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking of one of his synods, he relates that the assembled bishops had decreed and confessed the Catholic faith and unity and subjection to the Roman Church.[28] Then he continues, that just as he had bound himself at consecration by oath to be faithful to the See of Peter, so, too, did it seem to him, should all bishops pledge themselves to their metropolitan and the latter pledge himself to the pope. From these last words it is evident that to the extent of Boniface's knowledge it was not yet the custom for bishops and metropolitans, at least those in the northern and western lands, so expressly to obligate themselves.[29] To his mind, however, in view of the disputes existing in England and Gaul at the time between the Irish missionaries and those from Rome, this no doubt seemed the best method for procuring in the future the longed-for unity of discipline.

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[26] Ludovicus A. Muratori, *Annales D'Italia*, vol. 6 for A. D. 666.

[27] Vita S. Bonifacii, auctore Othlone, c. xiv, in Migne, LXXXIX, 644.

[28] Bonifacii epistola 63, Migne, LXXXIX, 763.

[29] Petrus De Marca, *De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii* (Neapoli, 1771), Tome III, Liber 6, cap. 7, n. 6, p. 51, says that up to this time it was customary for the metropolitans to make only a profession of faith and a promise to the comprovincial bishops to observe the canons, that the new profession of obedience to Rome was added in the time of Charles the Bald, 843-875. If these words are restricted to the immediate circle of Boniface's activity they are true, but they cannot be elsewhere applied, especially to Italy. The custom of the lower clergy taking the oath to the bishop is still observed during this period. Cf. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italiae*, VI, 371.

To what extent were other prelates of his day influenced by the same ideas? The question cannot be answered categorically, but within half a century we find the bishops in England taking the oath to their metropolitan as a customary practice. Whether or not the contemporary bishops in Gaul and their immediate successors adopted the custom is more difficult to establish. There is no evidence that they did. In fact, the probability rather seems to be that it was not introduced until about the middle of the next century. However, in canon 2 of the Council of Nicaea II, held in 787, it is decreed for the universal Church that the bishop to be consecrated must promise canonical obedience,[30] but the meaning of the canon in the light of subsequent practice seems plainly to be that the promise is to be made to the consecrating prelate not to the pope.

In the Carolingian empire meanwhile there was taking place a threefold political development each phase of which exercised an important influence upon the Church. There was in the first place a rapid incorporation of new peoples not only into the State but into the Church as well, a process which required the constant erection of new diocesan and metropolitan centers. This in turn gave rise to endless disputes over jurisdiction among ecclesiastics whose territory was affected by the change. In the second place a closer union between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities was being rapidly developed. This resulted inevitably in a vast deal of disciplinary legislation, much of it contradictory, depending upon whether it was prompted by an ambitious prince or by the ecclesiastical party anxious to preserve its freedom of action. To what extent these two developments were operative is evident from the fact that during the ninth century well over one hundred synods were held in various parts of the Carolingian realm. In the third place was the feudalization of society and the consequent importance attached to the oath as a means of safeguarding official interrelations.

In ecclesiastical circles the influence of the Spanish synods of the seventh century and of the ideas of Boniface in the eighth is also making itself felt. The close contact with Lombardy, where the episcopal oath had come into vogue largely through the energy of Gregory II, also plays its part.[31] To what precise extent the oath was in vogue among the lower clergy in Gaul in the early ninth century cannot be accurately stated, but it must have been quite the usual practice, at least in some parts of the country. Thus the Synod of Châlon-sur-Saône II, A. D. 813, canon 13, protests aaginst the custom of some bishops in exacting an oath of obedience from those whom they ordain.[32] Another protest comes from the king, Louis the Pious, in the Capitulare Aquisgranense, A. D. 816,[33] about the same custom in Lombardy. However, in the case of priests and deacons in charge of parishes the bishop is required to get a profession of stability and canonical obedience.[34]

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[30] Mansi, XIII, 419.

It will be noted that this legislation concerns only the relations of the lower clergy to the higher and that it is not the promise of obedience to the bishop and of the observance of the canons **as** such that is objected to, but the confirmation of such promises by an oath. The reasons for the opposition to the oath can only be surmised, but it is very probably due to distrust on the part of the king and the princes and their feeling that it might be interpreted to the prejudice of their own feudal claims. The oath of allegiance to the prince, to be taken by the clergy as well as by the laity, had been recently introduced into the Carolingian empire and it was but natural that it should be regarded with undue jealousy in this first stage of its appearance. As time passed the feared conflict of interest involved in the two oaths proved baseless. Hence within a score or so of years when princely opposition is no longer maintained the oath among the clergy again appears.

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[31] Cf. Formula 76, " Indiculum Episcopi de Longobardia " in Sickel, *Liber Diurnus*, also P. Fabre et L. Duschesne, *Le Liber Censuum* (Paris, 1910), formula cxlvi, 416.

[32] Mansi, XIV, 96.

[33] Etienne Baluze, *Capitularia Regum Francorum* (Paris, 1780), Capit. 16, Liber 1, c. 91; Migne, XCVII, 399, 524, Capit. Gen. Aquis., A. D. 817, III, capit. 16.

[34] Benedicti Diaconi Capitularium Collectio Caroli Magni, Lib. 3, c. 466, in Migne, XCVII, 860.

The first evidence of an oath of a bishop to his metropolitan in France appears in the province of Rheims during the time of Hincmar. This prelate, who as Archbishop of Rheims, 845-882, was the center of the Carolingian ecclesiastical world, persistently exacted the double promise of faith and obedience from his suffragans to himself and made the usual profession of faith for himself to the pope.[35] The practice of his immediate successors in the various dioceses in this regard is well attested by the collection of professions of bishops, abbots, and abbesses to the number of seventy-six and dating from the late ninth century to the first quarter of the thirteenth, found in the Besançon Liber Pontificalis.[36]

The custom observed by the popes during this century in conferring the pallium on the metropolitans outside Italy consists regularly in requiring nothing more than the written and signed profession of faith as stipulated by form 45 of the Liber Diurnus. Exceptions to this custom, however, are beginning to appear. An illustration is provided in the case of Festinian, Bishop of Dol, for whom King Salamo of Bretagne applied to the Holy See for the pallium. Pope Nicholas I, 858-867, not only required the usual profession of faith, but in addition Festinian's legate, who had come to Rome with the profession, was required to take an oath to the effect that his bishop did believe and would observe what he had written.[37] The same pope also required such an oath from the legate or the archbishop himself in the case of the successors to Ansgar of Hamburg.[38] Nicholas I also fought and won a hard conflict with regard to the oath with John X, Archbishop of Ravenna, 850-878, who long refused to subscribe.[39]

Pope John VIII, 872-882, seems to have pursued a more variable course. Upon Rostagnus, Archbishop of Arles, he confers the pallium and says nothing even of the profession of faith.[40] This probably indicates, however, that all had been in proper order in the application of Rostagnus. In 873 he demands the profession from Bertulf of Trier and rejects the application of Willibert of Cologne because his profession of faith was not complete. In the case of the latter, however, he goes a step farther and after the model set by Nicholas I he gives as a further reason for his refusal of the pallium the fact that Willibert had sent no one to Rome to affirm his beliefs by oath.[41]

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[35] Fleodard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, Lib. 3, c. 2; Migne, CXXXV, 140.

[36] British Museum MS. 15222. These professions have also been edited by G. Waitz in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ält. deutsche Geschichtskunde*, III (1878), 195 ff.

[37] Mansi, XV, 470.

[38] Migne, CXIX, 879, ep. 62 Nicolai ad Ansgarium.

[39] Mansi, XV, 147, 149, Vita Nicolai Papae I ab Anastasio.

Nevertheless this oath is not expressly insisted upon in the synod convened at Ravenna in 877. Here in canon 1 it was decreed that the metropolitan must within three months of his consecration send a written profession of faith and apply for the pallium from the Holy See under penalty of losing his dignity.[42] This may mean either that the profession was to be drawn up in the form of an oath which embraced an acknowledgment of obedience to the pope or that the oath was required only in unique cases according to the judgment of the pope. Whichever may be the case it is impossible to say with certainty, but the formula which was introduced about this time for the archbishops of France would seem to indicate that the oath form was intended.[43]

As is to be expected in view of the universal turmoil and the consequent retrogression in the affairs of both Church and State prevalent particularly during the first half of the tenth century, and the dearth of ecclesiastical writers during this time, nothing is to be found during this period concerning further development of the idea of the episcopal oath. Merely enough scattered evidence exists to prove the continuation of the practice of the preceding century. In the Besançon collection of formulas, previously mentioned, is one for Jerome, Bishop of Belley, A. D. 932, and three more forms for the last decade of the century. The earliest form of profession for this century in England is the promise made by Eadulf, consecrated to the see of Elmham in 955 by Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury.[44] The next evidence consists of a series of eleven formulas for bishops consecrated in the province of Arles.[45] The first of these professions was made by Stephen to Anno, Archbishop of Arles, 979-994; the last to Raimbald, 1030-1065. The popes during this century seem to have been content on conferring the pallium to require nothing more than the profession of faith from the metropolitans.[46]

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[40] Mansi, XVII, 80.

[41] Mansi, XVII, 242. See also Decreta Gratiana, Pars I, Dist. 100, c. 4.

[42] Mansi, XVII, 335. This canon has been incorporated into the Decreta Gratiana, Pars I, Dist. 100, c. 1. Frequently it has been erroneously attributed to Pope Pelagius.

[43] This formula is given as an archiepiscopal profession used in Gaul about 900 in E. de Rozieré, *Recueil General des Formules usitées dans l'Empire des Francs du Ve au Xe Siècle*, Formula DXXIV, 2, p. 644.

III.

In the eleventh century the foundations for the oath are firmly established and from this time forward there is no doubt as to the final outcome. Individual prelates in various lands may protest from various motives against the increasing tendency to force them to fidelity to their respective superiors through the medium of the oath, but their protests are unavailing. What brings about this hardening of a growing custom into a fixed law in the eleventh and twelfth centuries? From a study of the forms and circumstances of time and place of the various types of oaths [47] and the nature of the protests against the practice,[48] it becomes evident that the early process of development depended upon the zeal of the individual popes and metropolitans, who hoped thus to elevate the spiritual tone of the Church.

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[44] This formula is found in British Museum Cotton MS., Cleopatra E 1, folio 25.

[45] Mansi, XVI, 884.

[46] Only the profession of faith is mentioned in the following instances: Pope Leo VII, 936-939, bestows the pallium upon Gerhard of Lorsch (Mansi, XVIII, 376); John XIII upon Atto of Vich in 971; John XIV upon Alo of Beneventum in 983 (Curt von Hacke, *Die Palliumverleihungen bis 1143*, Göttingen, 1898, p. 133); Benedict VII, 975-983, upon Pilgrim of Lorsch (Mansi, XIX, 52).

[47] In addition to the various collections of formulae already mentioned a considerable number of professions of faith and obedience on the part of various English bishops to the See of Canterbury have been preserved in MSS. rolls C 116, 117, 118, 119 in the Library of the Dean and Chapter at Canterbury. Many of these forms have been edited by Haddan & Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1871).

[48] The protests of York against Canterbury are given in detail in *Historians*

The need for decided action in this regard becomes decidedly acute in the eleventh century. Feudalism was running rampant. More land as the sole source of income and power and greater independence were the goal of every individual in the upper strata of society. The ecclesiastical princes, too, with some splendid exceptions, threw themselves with no little abandon into the game. To meet this tendency of unworthy prelates to secularize the Church from within, there was at hand for the practical, energetic, and spiritual-minded popes and metropolitans only the ideas of their age. Laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, had no power to restrain the turbulent element effectively. Hence recourse was had to a more general use of the oath, which, in spite of the prevalent lawlessness, was generally by all classes of society regarded as a specially sacred obligation not to be too lightly thrown aside.

Local ecclesiastical councils during this period like, for instance, that of Rouen in 1074, canon 5, were enacting as law under more rigorous sanction the old custom of requiring the profession of obedience at ordination from the lower clergy.[49] The primate was demanding a profession of obedience under oath from his suffragans. Princes were insisting energetically, especially in the case of ecclesiastics, upon the fulfillment of the oaths of allegiance and of homage. The popes merely made use of the same means.

In the pontificate of Nicholas II, 1058-1061, a form is first employed which apparently served succeeding pontiffs as a model for a new type of episcopal oath. This form is that used by Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia, who swears allegiance and personal fealty to Pope Nicholas and his legitimate successors. A comparison of this form with the episcopal and pallium oaths as used by succeeding popes shows a marked similarity of wording, ex-

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of the Church of York, 3 vols., Rolls Series, ed. James Raine. Other protests in one form or another are voiced by Ivo of Chartres, epistolae 60, 65, 276 in Migne, CLXII, 72, 82, 278; by Bruno of Toul in Migne, CXLIII, 479 ff.

[49] Mansi, XX, 399.

cepting naturally those features which were peculiar to Guiscard's position as a lay prince.

Apparently, too, the new form, first used by Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, was under Alexander II, 1061-1073, substituted for the old form of the Liber Diurnus which affected those bishops immediately subject to the Holy See. Theoretically this form also became an ecclesiastical law for all metropolitans on receiving the pallium by reason of its incorporation into the *Collectio Canonum* of Cardinal Deusdedit.[50]

The great protagonists of the episcopal oath during this century are Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1070-1089, Anselm, his immediate successor, 1093-1109, and Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085. The long and violent struggle between Lanfranc and Thomas of York over the oath of obedience required from the latter undoubtedly advertised the idea more widely than any other event in the history of its early development. Anselm's relations with the successors of Thomas over the same matter were no less stormy than Lanfranc's. Both believed that they were merely championing an old custom, while the Archbishops of York were no less firmly convinced that they were resisting an innovation and an infringement of their rights.[51]

The influence of Pope Gregory VII with regard to the oath is to be traced not to his having legislated any new form into existence, which he did not do,[52] but rather to his determined initiative in striving to solve the problems involved in the investiture struggle. The task he set himself, to free the Church from secular control, naturally brought him into sharp conflict not only with the kings and princes who wished to maintain their former advantages, but also with those bishops and metropolitans who under the banner of the State championed their own greater independence. His contribution, then, to the development of the episcopal oath is to be sought in his legislation to bring such prelates into harmony with the papal policy.

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[50] This would seem to be the proper interpretation to be given the superscription used by Cardinal Deusdedit for this form. It reads: "Juramentum episcoporum qui in Romana Ecclesia consecrantur et ab ea pallium accipiunt."

[51] William of Malmsbury champions the Canterbury point of view; cf. *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum, passim*; Migne, CLXXIX. Hugh the Chantor of York, a strong partisan of the Archbishops of York, gives their side of the controversy; cf. "Historia Quattuor Archiepiscoporum Ecclesiae Eboracensis" in *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, Rolls Series, ed. James Raine. Other chroniclers of events of that period merely draw upon Malmesbury or Hugh according to their sympathies.

[52] Ludovicus Thomassin, *Vetus et Nova Ecclesiae Disciplina* (Lucca, 1728), Tome II, Liber 2, c. xlvi, n. 2, believes Gregory was opposed to the oath and cites two letters of the pope to prove his point, Reg. Epist. Greg. VII, liber 2, ep. 54 ad Placentinos and Liber 4, ep. 18 ad Canonicos Anicienses (Migne, CXLVIII, 471). Neither support him, as both letters are merely a release of

His first important step was taken in the Council of Rome I, A. D. 1074. In canons 23 and 24 of this council [53] is set forth not a new doctrine, but a more vigorous insistence upon the observance of a quite generally disregarded traditional principle, namely, that the first obedience of the clergy is not to the immediate superior but to the Holy See. The recognition and practical application of this principle was imperative if any universal reform was to be effected. Heretofore this direct relationship had not been particularly stressed by the popes, but the pressing evils of lay investiture and the influence of feudal customs, both working together, gave rise in Gregory's day to the very real danger that the Church in the not distant future might well be broken up into as many variations of religious doctrines and practices as there were principalities. There were in every land ecclesiastics upon whom he could count for support, but they were in the minority. Undoubtedly the most practical assistance for rendering his idea effective was the Cluniac movement, at this time attaining its most potent and far reaching influence. All its zeal was bent towards the very end Gregory was striving to attain—centralization, *i. e.*, a practical, not a merely theoretical, recognition by all of the primary disciplinary authority of the Holy See. That idea had to be brought home to all churchmen if the pope was to win his battle against investiture.

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subjects from their oath to bishops who had been excommunicated. Yet by a strange inconsistency he makes Gregory legislate a new form into existence. (Thomassin, *loc. cit.*, n. 3.) De Marca, *De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*, III, lib. vi, n. 7, 8, takes practically the same view.

[53] Mansi, XX, 430; Migne, CXLVIII, 782.

What might be regarded as another indirect contribution of Gregory VII to the development of the episcopal oath consisted in the initiation of other legislation which ultimately helped to render the oath more effective. With the introduction of the oath of fidelity to the pope by Alexander II, those outlying bishops who were now brought into immediate subjection to the Holy See often found themselves bound by three different oaths to as many different authorities. A nice distinction of obligation was difficult and circumstances could arise in which extreme insistence upon one obligation must lead to a violation of another. Thus the oath of homage to a lay lord might well put a bishop of the eleventh century in the anomalous and awkward position of employing his military forces against his metropolitan, the pope or the king, each of whom he had sworn to support. His oath of allegiance to the king, however, was not incompatible with the oath to the pope, unless a despotically minded king like William Rufus of England chose to make it so. Hence in order to eliminate any possible conflict of duty to secular lords with the obedience due to ecclesiastical authority on the part of prelates, Gregory VII in his war on simony inaugurated the legislation, frequently and even more strenuously insisted upon by his successors, against the oath of homage to a layman on the part of any cleric. It was this oath, the *homagium*, not the oath of allegiance to the king, that the popes of the eleventh century and the twelfth so energetically attacked. Urban II followed the uncompromising attitude of Gregory and prohibited the practice even more positively in canon 17 of the Council of Clermont in 1095,[54] and renewed his prohibition in the Council of Rome in 1099.[55] Such prohibition, however, though frequently repeated met for long in some areas with little or no success, especially if it touched the king.

In regard to his actual use of the episcopal oath, Gregory did nothing more or less than any of his immediate predecessors. The two instances most regularly cited in which this pope required the oath from a prelate, that of Robert of Chartres and that of Henry of Aquileia, were both unusual in their circumstances.

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[54] Mansi, XX, 817.

[55] Mansi, XX, 965.

Moreover, in neither case is it a question of an ordination oath. Robert of Chartres was an intruding claimant to the See of Chartres, and to settle the dispute consequent upon the action Gregory VII demanded and received from him in 1077 an oath to abstain from further aggression and await settlement of the matter by a papal legate.[56] The oath of Henry was given two years after his election to the See of Aquileia. The occasion of it was the fact that the archbishop had taken the side of the emperor in the investiture struggle, with whom, in spite of his oath to the pope, he again sided before his death in 1084. No doubt, too, Gregory was influenced in taking his action by what had occurred at Henry IV's council at Worms in 1076, when the bishops of Germany who had taken the imperial side in the struggle, by a solemn oath renounced their subjection and obedience to the pope.[57]

From the time of Gregory VII to that of Innocent III, 1198-1216, the oath continued to be required by metropolitans from their suffragans and by the popes from the metropolitans when they received the pallium.[58] The latter pope, however, introduced a new departure in regard to the suffragan bishops in the formula he required from the metropolitans. In this form, drawn up by Innocent in 1204 for the Archbishop of Debelti, primate of Bulgaria, the metropolitan on receiving the pallium, besides the usual promises also pledges himself to require the bishops consecrated by him to swear perpetual obedience and due honor to the pope. That this was not an isolated instance meant for Bulgaria alone, but was regarded by Innocent as a settled policy to apply to all, is proved by canon 5 of the Council of the Lateran IV in 1215.[59]

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[56] Reg. Epist. Greg. VII, lib. 4, ep. 14; Migne, CXLVIII, 748.

[57] M. G. H., 4, Legum 2, 46.

[58] Philip Jaffe, *Monumenta Gregoriana* (Berlin, 1865), Reg. 1, 24, p. 41, epistola Brunoni Episcopo Veronensi: "Quam utique dilectionem tuam in his, quae a nobis expostulasti, id est in pallii concessione, ad praesens non recompensamus; quia antecessorum nostrorum decrevit auctoritas: nisi praesenti personae pallium non esse concedendum." Likewise Urban II to the Archbishop of Milan: "Pallium fraternitati tuae praeter consuetudinem Romanae Ecclesiae, quae nulli hoc dignitatis genus nisi praesenti concedit. . . ." *Neues Archiv*, V, 356, n. 12b ex Coll. Brit. Also Paschal II ad Archiepiscopum Poloniae. (Mansi, XX, 985, ep. 6.) Cf. also the letter of Alexander III to the Bishop of Dol, ep. 50, Migne, CC, 123.

[59] Mansi, XXII, 990. Some writers like Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of*

A further change with regard to bishops also begins with the reign of Innocent, and that is the extension of the number of episcopal sees immediately subject to the pope. This was effected through the so-called papal reservations, or the assertion and use of the right by the popes to appoint to vacancies in beneficies wherever they might occur. Innocent himself made but very moderate use of the right and only under special conditions. His successors, however, gradually extended the practice, notably Innocent IV, 1243-1254, Boniface VIII, 1294-1303, John XXII, 1316-1334, and others to an increasing extent up to the councils of the fifteenth century, especially that of Basel, which attempted to restrict the practice. In 1568, however, Pope Pius V simply reserved all benefices to the Holy See.[60] With each reservation, naturally, the bishop being thus made immediately subject to the pope took his oath to him in the usual form instead of to his metropolitan. Thus was completed the process of centralization.

Did Gregory VII take the first step in the development of a monarchical papacy? Plainly not. What was done by him, as evidenced above, was nothing more than to render a centuries-old idea more conspicuous by the circumstances under which he used it. Is the episcopal oath in any real sense an index to the historical progress of centralization? In so far as it has been used in one form or another from the fifth century to the present day as a practical means, extended steadily according to the possibilities of time and place, to establish some more effective bond between popes and metropolitans and bishops, it is. The centralization of ecclesiastical authority in the hands of the pope is extended in proportion as he extends his immediate jurisdiction and that jurisdiction is always safeguarded through the medium of the episcopal oath.

CHARLES E. SCHRADER.

Canterbury, vol. I, 26, erroneously hold this to be the first appearance of the oath for the metropolitan on receiving the pallium.

[60] The Bull "Cupiens," *Bullarum Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum*, VII, Bulla 88, p. 659.

MARIA MONK AND HER INFLUENCE

Maria Monk's *Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal* was by far the most influential single work of American nativistic propaganda in the period preceding the Civil War. Published in 1836, this autobiographical account owed its initial success to the feeling against Catholicism which had been engendered in Protestant minds by the widespread activity of nativistic agitators, who, for more than a decade, had employed the press and platform to warn against Rome's influence and designs. At the time that Maria Monk's book made its appearance, two anti-Catholic newspapers, the *American Protestant Vindicator* and the *Downfall of Babylon*[1] were disseminating effective propaganda and winning new converts. The American Society for Promoting the Principles of the Protestant Reformation, or the Protestant Reformation Society, as it was commonly called, was entering on a campaign against popery which was to employ lecturing agents, publications, and public meetings.[2] Even the religious press, which had confined itself in the past to news of a denominational interest, now was warming to the new task of attacking the "Man of Sin and Son of Perdition."

With the burning of the Ursuline convent in Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1834, popular interest in the cloistered life had been noticeably aroused. The number of books directed against the convent system and pretending to portray the immorality attendant on the contact between celibate priests and nuns increased markedly during the early 1830's.[3] Clearly, the "No Popery" crusade had created an appetite for sensationalism among its followers and the success of the *Awful Disclosures* was due to timeliness rather than to literary merit.

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[1] The *Downfall of Babylon* was a weekly newspaper, edited from Philadelphia and later from New York, by Samuel B. Smith, who boasted of being "late a Popish priest." Its first issue appeared on August 14, 1834. The *American Protestant Vindicator* was a semimonthly publication, printed in New York and edited by the Reverend W. C. Brownlee. The first number was issued on August 20, 1834.

[2] This society was formed in New York in May, 1836 as an offshoot of the New York Protestant Association. It was designed as a national society to spread propaganda against Catholicism.

Contemporary accounts of Maria Monk's life vary greatly, but the most interesting, if not the most truthful, was that told by the author herself in her several published volumes. In these she told of a Protestant upbringing which ended when she entered the Hotel Dieu convent in Montreal to be educated, embraced the Catholic faith, and resolved to become a nun. Momentarily wavering in her resolution, she on one occasion left the sisterhood and married, but soon returned and this time received the veil. Her vows being made, she was, according to her story, immediately initiated into the sinful ways of nunneries. She was given instructions by the Mother Superior that she must "obey the priests in all things," and this, she soon found to her "utter astonishment and horror, was to live in the practice of criminal intercourse with them."[4] The children born from these unholy unions were immediately baptized and strangled. "This secured their everlasting happiness," the Mother Superior explained, "for the baptism purified them from all sinfulness, and being sent out of the world before they had time to do anything wrong, they were at once admitted into heaven. How happy, she exclaimed, are those who secure immortal happiness to such little beings! Their little souls would thank those who kill their bodies, if they had it in their power!"[5]

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[3] Typical of the many books of this nature appearing at the time were: Theodore Dwight, *Open Convents; or, Nunneries and Popish Seminaries Dangerous to the Morals and Degrading to the Character of a Republican Community* (New York, 1836); G. D. Emerlina, *Frauds of Papal Ecclesiastics; to which are added Illustrative Notes from Letters by Gilbert Burnet and Gavin's Master Key to Popery* (New York, 1835); Scipio de Ricci, *Female Convents, Secrets of Nunneries Disclosed* (New York, 1934); and *Lorette, The History of Louise, Daughter of a Canadian Nun: Exhibiting the Interior of Female Convents* (New York, 1833).

[4] Maria Monk, *Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal* (New York, 1836), 47.

[5] *Ibid.*, 49.

Maria Monk's subsequent life in the convent, as revealed through the *Awful Disclosures,* substantiated these initial revelations. She saw nuns executed for refusing to obey the lustful will of priests[6] and witnessed the strangling of two small babies.[7] She discovered a large hole in the basement of the Hotel Dieu in which the bodies of those murdered were thrown and the secret passage connecting the convent with a neighboring priest's home.[8] Her continued interest in infanticide Maria Monk finally explained by announcing that she was to have a baby, the father being one Father Phelan. Unable to endure the thought of her own child's murder, she at last determined to escape. This, according to her account, was not difficult. Bursting past a guard as if she were on an important mission, she found herself beyond the walls of the Hotel Dieu convent.[9]

The first edition of Maria Monk's narrative ended rather abruptly at that point. Any curiosity that her readers might have as to her fate from that time on was satisfied by a second edition which followed the first almost immediately and which contained a lengthly sequel to the original tale.[10] In this she pictured the experiences of the fugitive nun to be as harrowing as those of the cloistered. Attempting to escape from Montreal, she was recognized and forced to return to the city where, in a moment of despair, she attempted to drown herself. Her rescue by two passing workmen convinced her that she had been divinely selected to expose the horrors of popery and she immediately laid plans to go to the United States where her account might be believed.[11] Her husband was induced to provide the necessary funds, but these were exhausted by the time that she reached New York and, alone and friendless, she again attempted to take her own life, this time by starving herself to death in a secluded spot on the edge of the city. But four hunters intervened and carried her to a charity hospital where Maria Monk, knowing that her baby would be soon born, asked for a Protestant clergyman to whom she might tell her whole story. The minister who responded was so impressed that he asked her to write an autobiography for publication.[12] Thus, according to Maria Monk's own story, the *Awful Disclosures* came into being.

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[6] *Ibid.*, 97-105.

[7] *Ibid.*, 155-157.

[8] *Ibid.*, 81-82, 127-128.

[9] *Ibid.*, 197-200.

[10] The sequel is bound with all regular editions of the *Awful Disclosures.*

[11] *Ibid.*, 257-261.

The account of Maria Monk's life given by her mother varied greatly from that contained in the *Awful Disclosures.* The mother, a Protestant living near Montreal, testified that her daughter had never been in the Hotel Dieu convent and that the whole tale was the product of a brain injured in infancy when the child had run a slate pencil into her head. Maria Monk, the mother insisted, had been a wild girl who was constantly in trouble and had of necessity been confined in a Catholic Magdalen asylum in Montreal. Even there she had gotten into trouble and had been aided in her escape by a former lover, who was really the father of the child born in New York.[13]

In all probability, the mother's story was substantially correct. It is probable too, that the man who aided her escape to the United States was the Reverend William K. Hoyt, long active among Canadian Catholics as president of the Canadian Benevolent Association, an anti-Catholic missionary society.[14] He undoubtedly took her to New York where he arranged with several other unscrupulous clergymen, among whom were the Reverend J. J. Slocum, the Reverend Arthur Tappan, the Reverend George Bourne, and Theodore Dwight, to employ her as a dupe for their own mercenary schemes. Later Slocum admitted that Maria Monk and Hoyt called upon him to write the story of her life and that he had done so, although he insisted that the account was substantially that dictated by Maria Monk.[15] Subsequent legal proceedings growing from the publication of the *Awful Disclosures* indicated that Slocum actually had been responsible for most of the writing of the book, but that Hoyt, Bourne, and others had given suggestions and taken the largest share of the profits.[16] It is probable that the editors of the *American Protestant Vindicator* were also interested, for just before the *Awful Disclosures* appeared they devoted an unusually large amount of space to articles dealing with the alleged immorality of convent life and even hinted that there was an escaped nun in the city who was soon to write her memoirs.[17]

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[12] *Ibid.*, 262-295.

[13] The mother's affidavit is printed *ibid.*, 215-220.

[14] William L. Stone, *Maria Monk and the Nunnery of the Hotel Dieu; Being an Account of a Visit to the Convents of Montreal, and Refutation of the "Awful Disclosures"* (New York, 1836), 46-48. Stone was impartial and probably more truthful than most of those who entered into the controversy over Maria Monk at the time. Certainly this fact seems borne out by a subsequent visit that Maria Monk made to Montreal with Hoyt, before the *Awful Disclosures* appeared, to bring legal proceedings against the priest she claimed to be the father of her child. While there she lived with Hoyt in a way that allowed a Montreal paper, *L'Ami du Peuple,* to state that "des liaisons plus intimes" existed between them. Quoted in *American Protestant Vindicator,* November 18, 1835.

The manuscript of the book was offered first to Harper Brothers. This publishing house, although tempted by the prospect of large profits, was unwilling to risk its reputation by printing so scurrilous an attack on Catholicism. An agreement was eventually arranged through which two employees of the firm, Howe and Bates, set up a dummy publishing house under their own names and the book finally appeared in January, 1836.[18]

The publication of the *Awful Disclosures* precipitated a storm of controversy. The anti-Catholic press did not hesitate to proclaim the work a remarkable exposition of the truth about nunneries[19] but religious papers, slightly more cautious, simply gave notice of its publication and agreed that while they could not vouch for its accuracy the conditions described were typical of all convents.[20] Later this caution was abandoned and the book was given absolute credence by nearly all the religious press.[21] Others, however, openly questioned the truth of Maria Monk's story. Posters were distributed about New York attacking her charges as lies and indignant Catholics protested vainly against the general acceptance of such propaganda by the people.[22] The authorities of the Hotel Dieu convent properly maintained a dignified silence but champions rose to their defense with a book entitled *Awful Exposure of the Atrocious Plot formed by Certain Individuals against the Clergy and Nuns of Lower Canada, through the Intervention of Maria Monk.*[23] Composed of denials of statements in the *Awful Disclosures,*[24] and numerous affidavits demonstrating Maria Monk's falsehoods,[25] this work was so effective that it was answered by Slocum in a *Reply to the Priest's Book, Denominated, "Awful Exposure of an Atrocious Plot formed by Certain Individuals against the Clergy and Nuns of Lower Canada, through the Intervention of Maria Monk."* [26] In this more affidavits upholding Maria Monk were presented [27] and in addition an attack was made on all convents, with many citations from the works of Scipio de Ricci and other early "No Popery" writers.[28] The publication of these charges and countercharges finally led to a public meeting between Maria Monk and her opponents, which, rather than settling the question of the truth of her disclosures, simply heightened public interest in the whole controversy.[29] A local anti-Catholic society, the New York Protestant Association, attempted to capitalize upon this aroused opinion by stirring up debates between priests and Protestant clergymen over Maria Monk[30] and, when Catholic representatives failed to respond, blatantly insisted that the author of the *Awful Disclosures* had been vindicated.[31]

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[15] J. J. Slocum, *Reply to the Priest's Book, Denominated, "Awful Exposure of an Atrocious Plot formed by Certain Individuals against the Clergy and Nuns of Lower Canada, through the Intervention of Maria Monk"* (New York, 1837), 103-112.

[16] Maria Monk and Slocum were jointly sued by Hoyt for a share of the profits. New York *Observer*, November 26, 1836. In a second suit brought by Maria Monk through Slocum as next friend against Harper Brothers and others, it was asserted that the copyright on the *Awful Disclosures* had been taken out by Bourne and used by him with the aid of Harper Brothers in such a way that Maria Monk received none of the profits. The court refused to grant her any relief. I *Edward's Chanc. Rep.* 109 (May 16, 1837).

[17] *American Protestant Vindicator*, October 14, 1835, October 21, 1835.

[18] This was disclosed in the legal proceedings discussed in note 16 above.

[19] *Downfall of Babylon*, February 6, 1836. This paper began the ambitious task of reprinting the book in serial form.

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[20] New York *Observer*, January 23, 1836.

[21] *Ibid.*, May 7, 1836, July 9, 1836.

[22] *American Protestant Vindicator*, March 9, 1836.

[23] New York, 1836.

[24] *Awful Exposure of an Atrocious Plot*, 3-71.

[25] *Ibid.*, 75-129.

[26] New York, 1837.

[27] Slocum, *Reply to the Priest's Book*, 15-159.

[28] *Ibid.*, 160-176.

[29] *Interview of Maria Monk with Her Opponents, the Authors of the Reply to her Awful Disclosures, now in Press, held in this City on Wednesday, August 17* (New York, 1836). Popular interest was also stirred by the publication of *Dreadful Scenes in the Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk* (New

As this controversy grew, many partisans on both sides came to the realization that the only solution lay in an examination of the interior of the Hotel Dieu convent; a step which would forever confirm or repudiate Maria Monk's statements. The first proposed investigation was suggested by the New York Protestant Association, which offered to send a committee which would include Maria Monk to Montreal for this purpose.[32] Needless to say, this offer was declined by convent authorities, as were similar offers made by Maria Monk herself.[33] Finally two impartial Protestant clergymen were allowed to make the inspection. They returned to New York with the report that all of Maria Monk's accusations were false and that the Hotel Dieu convent not even remotely resembled the one which she had described.[34] The backers of the *Awful Disclosures* immediately branded the ministers as Jesuits in disguise and declared that masons and carpenters had completely altered the convent building before the inspection committee had been admitted.[35] A public meeting was held in New York during which resolutions were passed pledging the confidence of those attending to Maria Monk despite this adverse report, and demands were made that a new committee which should include such well-known nativists as Samuel F. B.

York, 1836), a series of illustrations depicting the murder of babies and other events described in the *Awful Disclosures*.

[30] *American Protestant Vindicator,* March 9, 1836.

[31] *Ibid.,* May 25, 1836.

[32] *Ibid.,* July 27, 1836, November 25, 1836. The association continued its offer until Maria Monk was beginning to lose popularity. *Ibid.,* March 22, 1837.

[33] *Ibid.,* August 3, 1836; New York *Observer,* August 6, 1836.

[34] The clergymen were the Reverend G. W. Perkins and the Reverend W. F. Curry. *American Protestant Vindicator,* July 27, 1836, August 6, 1836, September 14, 1836.

[35] *Ibid.,* July 27, 1836, August 3, 1836, November 25, 1836; *Downfall of Babylon,* July 23, 1836.

Morse and Slocum be allowed to make an impartial inspection.[36] A similar meeting was held in Philadelphia and it was suggested that Protestants in other cities show their faith in Maria Monk by united action.[37]

The excitement attendant upon the publication of the *Awful Disclosures* was intensified in the fall of 1836 by the appearance of another fugitive nun in New York City. She was, she explained, Saint Frances Patrick; she had been in the Hotel Dieu convent while Maria Monk was there, and she was willing to confirm every statement made in the *Awful Disclosures.*[38] The sudden appearance of this new nun probably indicated a rift among New York nativists. Maria Monk had been sponsored by the same group which backed the *American Protestant Vindicator* and undoubtedly had the support of the Protestant Reformation Society, although that organization carefully refrained from connecting itself directly with the scheme. Samuel B. Smith, editor of the *Downfall of Babylon,* resented the new importance gained by this rival publication whose affiliations allowed it to give its readers first hand information regarding Maria Monk's activities. Smith's position was made clear in a book which he published early in 1836, a *Decisive Confirmation of the Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk, Proving her Residence in the Hotel Dieu Nunnery, and the Existence of the Subterranean Passages,*[39] in which he was unable to add any new information concerning either Maria Monk or the convent and was forced to confine his narrative largely to an account of his own experiences as a priest.[40] This evidently convinced Smith that he could regain a lion's share of nativistic glory only by sponsoring an escaped nun of his own. Saint Frances Patrick was his candidate for a portion of the popularity being enjoyed by Maria Monk.

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[36] *Downfall of Babylon,* August 20, 1836; New York *Observer,* August 20, 1836; *American Protestant Vindicator,* August 17, 1836. The meeting was held in the rooms of the American Tract Society.

[37] *American Protestant Vindicator,* January 18, 1837. The Philadelphia meeting was held on December 29, 1836 and was followed by a second New York meeting on January 16, 1837.

[38] New York *Observer,* September 3, 1836; *Downfall of Babylon,* September 17, 1836.

[39] New York, 1836.

[40] Smith, *Decisive Confirmation, passim.* Smith's work was answered by G. Vale, *Review of the Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk* (New York, 1836).

Certainly Smith and his paper supplied the publicity attendant on the arrival of Saint Frances in New York. Unable to wait until a full volume of her memoirs could be prepared, Smith published a pamphlet on *The Escape of Sainte Frances Patrick, another Nun from the Hotel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal*[41] which he introduced with a verse:

Down from the North a torrent comes;
A moral deluge sweeps our shores;
Two captives, driven from their homes,
Come to lament, to weep, deplore
Their mis-spent days.

Their homes, we say, such homes as those,
The reptiles of the earth would scorn:
Hot-beds of every vice that grows,
And sinks where virtue droops forlorn,
To rise no more.

One tale is told, and horror shrieks;
We stand, aghast, appalled with fear,
And listening now, the echo speaks,
Strikes to the heart, excites the fear;
Alas,—how true![42]

Smith's pamphlet added few details to the story of the Hotel Dieu convent already told by Maria Monk. Saint Frances averred that she had been a nun when the investigating committee made its tour and that the entire interior of the building had previously been altered for the occasion. At the time they made their inspection, she said, two strangled babies had been lying in a closet, but they had failed to open the door and that sin had remained secret.[43]

Maria Monk and Saint Frances Patrick were brought together at a public meeting and there, tearfully embracing each other, they talked for some time of their mutual convent life.[44] This in itself should have been enough to brand Maria Monk as an impostor, for only the most credulous could believe Saint Frances, and her story was almost immediately exposed as a fraud. Yet so great was Maria Monk's hold upon Protestants that greater evidence than her friendship with Saint Frances Patrick was necessary before they began even to doubt the truth of her statements. This doubt came with another investigation of the convent, conducted by Colonel William L. Stone, editor of the New York *Commercial Advertiser.* Stone was a Protestant who had interested himself mildly in the "No Popery" crusade. He happened to be in Montreal during the fall of 1836 and sought for and secured permission to make a thorough investigation. He made his examination with Maria Monk's book in his hand, poking into every closet, climbing to a high window to see into an unopened room and smelling a row of jars in the basement which might have contained lime used in the disposal of infant's bodies.[45] He came away completely satisfied and published an account which ended with the pronouncement: "I most solemnly believe that the priests and nuns are innocent in this matter." [46]

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[41] New York, 1836.
[42] Smith, *Escape of Sainte Frances Patrick*, Introduction.
[43] *Ibid.*, 7-8.

This was the most effective setback that Maria Monk had received. Stone was answered by the nativistic newspapers,[47] by the president of the Protestant Reformation Society,[48] and by an anonymous pamphlet *Evidence Demonstrating the Falsehoods of William L. Stone,*[49] all insisting that he was either in the pay of the Jesuits or "Stone-blind." Unexpected aid for the backers of the *Awful Disclosures* came from a New York poet who published *The Vision of Rubeta, an Epic Story of the Island of Man-*

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[44] Stone, *Maria Monk and the Nunnery,* 34.

[45] *Ibid.,* 22-28.

[46] *Ibid.,* 33.

[47] *American Protestant Vindicator,* October 12, 1836 and ff.

[48] The Reverend W. C. Brownlee issued a long statement which was printed in the New York *Observer,* October 15, 1836.

[49] New York, 1836. Most of these controversial works were devoted to a minute examination of arguments and facts. Thus one of the principal points of Brownlee and of this pamphlet was that Stone could not have made his thorough inspection in three hours and that his whole account was to be disbelieved. Pages of print were wasted in attempted proofs of this proposition.

hattan,[50] a volume-length poem satirizing Stone's inspection tour in Hudibrastic verse and with "Illustrations done on Stone." Colonel Stone was pictured as saying:

> A new goldfinder in your sinks of shame
> I come! Prepare. Dead babe hope not to hide,
> Nor friar's sandal, where this wand is guide!
> Aided by which, shall pierce your very stones
> My eagle eyes, and find those little bones![51]

After a fully described inspection he departed, assuring the nuns:

> Ladies! the charm has work'd; the trial's o'er!
> Virgins ye are, as pure as ever bore.[52]

The *Vision of Rubeta* was promptly answered by a play, *The Critique of the Vision of Rubeta: a Dramatic Sketch in One Act*[53] by one who signed himself "Autodicus." While it may be doubted if this play was ever performed, it probably added immeasurably to the amusement of those interested in the growing volume of literature centering about Maria Monk.

Despite this satirizing of Stone's report, his criticism of Maria Monk had obviously done her little good. During the early months of 1837 many of the more conscientious Protestant publications began denouncing her as an impostor.[54] A story was circulated that she had confessed the hoax to Colonel Stone, and while this was vigorously denied by the anti-Catholic press[55] and even by Stone himself,[56] it obviously indicated a growing public distrust.

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[50] Boston, 1838.

[51] *The Vision of Rubeta*, 43.

[52] *Ibid.*, 162.

[53] Philadelphia, 1838. The play was probably written by the author of the *Vision of Rubeta* as indicated both by the pseudonym and the fact that it was not a criticism but a defense of the earlier work, especially against the charge of immorality. *Ibid.*, 1-32.

[54] *The Christian Spectator*, June, 1837, published a long article on Maria Monk which began: "If the natural history of 'Gullibility' is ever written, the impostures of Maria Monk must hold a prominent place in its pages."

[55] *American Protestant Vindicator*, August 9, 1837, August 30, 1837; New York *Observer*, September 16, 1837. This rumor had it that Maria Monk's book had been written by the Reverend George Bourne.

[56] New York *Observer*, September 30, 1837.

Maria Monk's own conduct did much to accredit these reports. In August, 1837, she suddenly disappeared from New York, only to reappear at a private home in Philadelphia with a tale of having been kidnapped by Catholic priests who were anxious to stop her disclosures of convent life. This may have been arranged by her backers to increase public interest,[57] but more probably was an escapade on the part of Maria Monk who seems to have made the journey to the neighboring city under an assumed name and with a male companion.[58] Certainly the final effect of the whole episode was to discredit the author of the *Awful Disclosures.*

There were, however, still sufficient people willing to believe her tales of convent life that a new publication was believed feasible. This appeared in 1837, *Further Disclosures by Maria Monk, Concerning the Hotel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal; also, her visit to Nuns' Island, and Disclosures Concerning that Secret*

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[57] This is possible in view of earlier "kidnapping" plots which they had obviously arranged. One had been rumored even before the *Awful Disclosures* was published. *American Protestant Vindicator,* November 18, 1835, December 23, 1835. A second attempt was supposedly made in May, 1836, by a group of priests anxious to secure the reward of $15,000 which Maria Monk said had been offered by Father Phelan for her return to Montreal. *Ibid.,* June 11, 1836; Slocum, *Reply to the Priest's Book,* 147. All of the attempts were so crudely managed that they were obviously planned to win publicity.

[58] According to Maria Monk's own story she was coaxed to Philadelphia by six priests, but managed to escape and sought refuge in the home of Dr. W. W. Sleigh. She stayed there until called for by William Hogan who returned her to New York. *American Protestant Vindicator,* September 13, 1837, October 11, 1837. Sleigh published an account of the whole affair: *An Exposure of Maria Monk's Pretended Abduction and Conveyance to the Catholic Asylum, Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1837). In this he presented affidavits and other evidence to show that Maria Monk had come to Philadelphia under the name of Jane Howard and had stayed in a boarding house with a man, even seeking employment as a domestic at a Catholic asylum. Sleigh, *An Exposure of Maria Monk's Pretended Abduction,* 19-28. Sleigh expressed his opinion as a physician that she was mentally unfit to be at large and should be confined. *Ibid.,* 36. Maria Monk charged in return that Sleigh had been friendly toward her as long as she remained with him, but that he had been disappointed when she left with Hogan. He had then, she said, determined to make some money from the episode by attacking her, as he could not make it by exploiting her. *American Protestant Vindicator,* September 13, 1837.

Retreat.[59] The sensational appeal of the *Awful Disclosures* was not maintained in this new book, which was chiefly interesting for its descriptions of Nuns' Island in the St. Lawrence river where, according to the *Further Disclosures,* nuns from the United States and Canada went to bear illegitimate children.[60] This was the last of Maria Monk's publications. An attempt was made to dress her in nun's clothing and take her on a lecture tour of the eastern cities, but this plan was abandoned because of the opposition of the Reverend W. C. Brownlee, president of the Protestant Reformation Society, who either had some moral scruples or hesitated to subject his charge to the heckling of an audience.[61]

By this time Maria Monk's popularity was fast fading. She had been cheated out of most of her profits by her backers and a series of lawsuits not only failed to restore them but exposed the corruption behind her whole venture. Any faith in her that her supporters might have was dispelled early in 1838 when she again gave birth to a fatherless child and this time made no pretence of naming it after a priest.[62] Only the *American Protestant Vindicator* supported her with the futile charge that her second pregnancy had been arranged by the Jesuits to discredit her exposures.[63] Her downfall from that time on was rapid. She married but so dissipated her husband's earnings in drink and riotous living that he soon left her.[64] In 1849 she was arrested for pick-

[59] New York, 1837.

[60] Monk, *Further Disclosures,* 144-174.

[61] Sleigh, *Exposure of Maria Monk's Pretended Abduction,* 32.

[62] New York *Observer,* October 6, 1838; *Niles Register,* October 20, 1838. St. Frances Patrick gave birth to an illegitimate child at about the same time. New York *Observer,* October 6, 1838.

[63] Statement of Brownlee quoted in New York *Observer,* November 3, 1838. In 1841, when accused of writing Maria Monk's book for her, Dr. Brownlee steadfastly maintained that the story had been dictated by Maria Monk to a Protestant clergyman just as it had appeared. *American Protestant Vindicator,* April 28, 1841. He insisted too that St. Frances Patrick was a Jesuit in disguise, sent by the convent priests to discredit Maria Monk. *Ibid.,* May 17, 1837, June 9, 1841. Yet when the rumor spread that another nun had escaped from the Hotel Dieu convent, Brownlee expressed the hope that she would write her memoirs. *Ibid.,* September 30, 1840.

[64] According to the statement of a woman who claimed to be Maria Monk's daughter, published thirty years later. L. St. John Eckel, *Maria Monk's*

ing the pockets of her companion of the moment in a Five Points house of ill fame and died in prison a short time later.[65]

Discredited as she may have been by her later life, Maria Monk's books continued to enjoy unstinted popularity; the three hundred thousand copies of the *Awful Disclosures* sold prior to the Civil War and the editions which have appeared since that time justly earned for it the questionable distinction of being the "Uncle Tom's Cabin of Know Nothingism." Moreover this volume was not only itself important as sensational propaganda against Catholicism but inspired a host of imitators and played a large part in the rise of the political nativism which the Catholic Church has had to combat during its entire American existence.

Ray Allen Billington.

Daughter; an Autobiography (New York, 1874), 1-15. The daughter tells of her own conversion to Catholicism and most of the book is devoted to a vigorous defense of the Catholic faith.

[65] New York *Herald,* quoted in Boston *Pilot,* August 4, 1849, September 8, 1849.

ON THE TWELVE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF BEDE [*]

To be remembered by posterity after twelve hundred years is in itself exceptional; it is more than exceptional when one reflects that during the twelve hundred years which have elapsed since the death of the Venerable Bede dynasties have risen and vanished, Christendom has been divided and subdivided, new continents have been discovered and settled. And the wonder is not lessened by recalling the fact that the figure we are concerned with was not a great pontiff, nor a crusader, nor an empoeror; he was of all things a historian. To understand why after twelve hundred years the slight figure of Bede should be remembered at all it may be practical to borrow the suggestion in the inscription carved for an Englishman of a later time: "Si monumentum quaeris, circumspice" and transpose it into the injunction, "tolle, lege," for Bede has a monument and that monument, the written word, is indeed an impressive one. Bede's monument is composed of a series of works which includes theological and scriptural studies, literary pieces, that is to say the technical side of letters as well as some verses, treatises on natural science, and of particular importance, history.[1] The variety of fields of human knowledge covered by Bede is little less than astonishing. The physical labor alone incident to the production of his intellectual output judged by any standards is considerable, but when it is reckoned, as it should be, both with reference to the troubled times in which he lived and to his own position in life, the results of Bede's industry cannot fail to amaze us. So it appeared to

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[*] Read at the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, December 26, 1935, Boston, Mass.

[1] *Venerabilis Baede Historiam Ecclesiasticam Gentis Anglorum, Historiam, Epistolam ad Eggbertum, una cum Historia Abbatum Auctore Anonymo. Ad Fidem Codicum Manuscriptorum Denuo Recognovit, Commentario tam Critico quam Historico Instruxit Carolus Plummer, A.M.* (Oxford, 1896); J. A. Giles, *Bede the Venerable.* (The complete works of Venerable Bede in original Latin, 12 v. London, 1843-4).

Symeon of Durham, who wrote of Bede as one living "in a remote corner of the world, who never crossed the seas in order to learn knowledge, who did not visit the schools of the philosophers, [*yet*] should be famous for such great learning and should be known everywhere in the world for the composition of so many books." [2] But mere quantity production cannot explain Bede's importance. There are certain characteristics about his writing that set him far above his fellows. Bede's sympathy, his variety of intellectual interests no less than his technical equipment as historian are in fact the characteristics which place his work far above that of his contemporaries. An understanding of his life which was marked by singular sincerity of purpose and a high respect for truth is the key to Bede the historian. His life which covered in all some sixty-two years, after his seventh year was passed behind the protecting walls of the monastery. The years spent quietly at Jarrow vitalized his career. As a monk meditating upon the realities of life and upon the verities of eternity Bede must have acquired that feeling for truth and that sense of proportion which characterized his work. In this cultural oasis set in the midst of a world torn by strife and given to destruction, the scholar was protected against those disturbing influences which beset the path of historians of our own times. The monastery, too, apparently was a treasury of source material and in this treasure house Bede was able to sort his materials, using that which was worthy and discarding the spurious. The picture of these influences has been admirably set forth by Francis S. Betten, S. J.[3]

A full appreciation of Bede the historian requires an excursion along the avenue of his non-historical works and while it is not here practical to make more than a passing reference to their subject-matter even this little will disclose the fact that all human knowledge was within the sphere of Bede's interest. Bede was no Doctor Dryasdust, he was not a specialist of the present day variety hobbled to a single point, wandering hopelessly through a maze of detail with neither perspective nor direction. Bede was what the model historian must be, an explorer. His inquisitiveness, for example, led him to make special studies of the reasons and the ways of reckoning time. Bede's studies of chronology are of special importance and even though the results have been the subject of controversy, as witness among others that carried on in the *Athenaeum* (1930) between Sir James H. Ramsay and Mr. A. Anscombe, the conclusions prove only this: that Bede was a careful historian and in the matter of chronology he is far more careful than his contemporaries. Professor Charles W. Jones has called attention to the fact that in the subject of chronology Bede seems to have assembled a library of exceptional completeness for that time. At any rate Bede's knowledge stood him in good stead when he came to write history, for history must have strict regard to chronology. Indeed, the fifth book of his *Ecclesiastical History* contains a chronological recapitulation of English history from the Roman invasion under Julius Caesar to the death of Archbishop Bertwald in 731. Mathematics challenged Bede. This no doubt made him careful in computing figures or accepting the totals of others. In some of the Old English versions of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History,* as George Hempl notes, there has been a misreading of numerals.[4] These errors, however, are not to be attributed to Bede who is most careful about figures. Thus, for example, in the third book of the history he is careful to note that in 655 A. D. five thousand families lived in southern Mercia on the careful enumeration of the bishops who took part in the ecumenical councils of the Church from Nicea to the second at Constantinople (Book IV, cxviii).

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[2] Thomas Allison, *Pioneers of English Learning*, p. xvii (Oxford, 1932).

[3] "St. Bede, the Venerable," in *Church Historians*, ed. P. Guilday (New York, 1926); Raby, "Bede" in *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Geographie ecclésiastiques* (Paris, 1933).

The historical works of Bede are unquestionably his most important productions and of these the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* by far out-distances his other works, for although the *Martyrology* has a place in the catalogue of Bede's writings, in its present form it undoubtedly is not entirely his work. Bede's *Chronicle of the Six Ages of the World* is limited in its appeal. His two biographies of St. Cuthbert, one is verse, relatively speaking, are likewise unimportant. But the *Ecclesiastical History* is a different matter. This is a genuine masterpiece and upon it Bede's fame chiefly rests. The history was written in his fifty-eighth or fifty-ninth year, at the suggestion of Albin, a disciple of Archbishop Theodore and Abbott Adrian.[5] Perhaps not more than a year was consumed in the writing of the history, which in itself is an achievement. The history in Everyman's Library comprises nearly 300 pages of closely printed matter, a most representative production. But while in the actual writing of this work great speed was brought to bear, in the larger sense a lifetime went into its making. Perhaps here is the explanation of the attractiveness of this book. In any case Bede's History is the one history written during the medieval period that towers above its fellows. The importance of his text was so clearly perceived that it was copied probably hundreds of times so that even today at least one hundred thirty manuscripts are extant which are, or were, to be found from Leningrad to Mexico City. And after the invention of printing this book was among the first to come from the presses. But this does not explain its greatness. There are, however, characteristics in this book more or less discernible which do indicate the reasons for the appeal of Bede's masterpiece. There is a poetry in the history; there is also a certain epic quality that raises it from a standard chronicle to a piece of literature. There is, besides, the honesty and sincerity of the author that speak forth from every page and finally there is the technical equipment of the writer himself who evidently regarded the office of historian with reverence. The effectiveness of a historian depends to some extent upon his style for no matter how painstaking his research, he must be able to clothe the fruits of his labor in beautiful language. Bede was a poet.[6] We have his verse, but we have his poetry in his prose also. And here is one explanation of the beauty of Bede's writing, because a writer of history, for being a poet, is not less a historian; rather his writing will be rich and complete. So in the *Ecclesiastical History* Bede speaks of a "hill adorned, clothed with flowers" (Book I, cvii). "Craggy and uncouth mountains" are noticed (Book IV, cxxvii), "The boisterous wind," "raging pain,"[7] make definite what he wants us to see.

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[4] G. Hempl, *Modern Language Notes* (Baltimore, 1896).

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[5] Peter Wilcock, *Lives of the first Five Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* (Sunderland, 1910).

[6] P. J. R. Raby, *Christian Latin Poetry* (Oxford, 1927).

Professor Abbott[8] has called attention to the epic quality of Bede's writing. Bede, unconsciously perhaps, is recounting the progress of a tremendous struggle, the battle between paganism and Christianity. Christianity had by no means triumphed even in Bede's day, for it was not until several centuries later that the northern peoples who constituted the chief threat to England came under the yoke of Christ. England itself, during the seventh century, was undergoing the process of conversion and Bede was born during the eighth. He therefore knew much of the power of the forces which Christianity must overcome. And the conqueror? Who He was and how He was regarded had already been proclaimed in *The Dream of the Rood* but not more eloquently than in Bede's own words at his death preserved for us in Cuthbert's letter to Cutwin: "The time for me to be set free is at hand, for indeed my soul much desires to behold my King Christ in His beauty." Here is the secret: Bede's King, the White Christ, is He who is fighting the powers of darkness. He is the hero of the *Ecclesiastical History.*

Factual history is taken for granted in the historian. Bede's honesty amounts to genius. Perhaps this quality explains why his history begins as it does by omitting a grandiose survey of world history and beginning directly in chapter I with a statement concerning the geography of Britain and the character of its early inhabitants, and, in chapter II, giving the story of Caesar's invasion. Had Bede followed the practise of contemporary writers, and later writers also, he should have written a history largely apocryphal in parts and one that long since had been forgotten. When dealing with the miraculous, Bede is carefully objective.

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[7] See Jones, Putnam, Fennell, *A Concordance to the Historia Ecclesiastica of Bede* (Cambridge, 1929).

[8] William Cortez Abbott, *Conflicts with Oblivion* (New Haven, 1924).

In describing the virtues of saintly characters there is a complete absence of pietism. Indeed there is a rugged honesty which is especially appealing. See, for example, Pope Gregory's exhortation to Augustine that he glory not in his miracles: "It remains, therefore, most dear brother, that amidst those things which you outwardly perform through the working of our Lord, you always inwardly strictly judge yourself. . . . And if any time you have offended our Creator . . . call it to mind that the remembrance of your guilt may crush the vanity which rises in your heart."

But the professional historian will perhaps be chiefly interested in Bede's method of writing. Concerning his method of writing history he has this to say, that his sources were "the writings of the ancients, or the tradition of our ancestors or of my own knowledge." What were the writing of the "ancients"? They were, among others, Eddius' *Life of Wilfrid,* or the anonymous *Life of Pope Gregory,* or *The Life of Cuthbert.* Bede was acquainted also with Pliny, Orosius, Eutropius, Vegetius, Isidore of Seville, Tertullian, and, no doubt, others, for what has been called the monastic travelling library was evidently an efficient institution and was in successful operation in Bede's day. This explains why it was not necessary for him to leave his monastery for source material; the sources came to him. His friends journeyed as far as Rome to procure material. Unfortunately, it is not always possible to particularize concerning the sources used by Bede. Plummer remarked some years ago that a really critical edition of Bede, which should show exactly how much he borrowed and how much is original, is a great desideratum. After forty years this situation has not been remedied. Such a task would be a monumental one because Bede rarely indicates specifically which sources he has used; the authority may be mentioned but not the particular work. This negiect must not always be charged against Bede. Probably in copying the manuscripts later scribes failed to note all the indications.[9] Bede enjoyed the friendship of many of the best informed men of his day, those who had personal knowledge of the events he describes or who had been in contact with a previous generation that had know of these events first hand. Their contributions are for the most part duly noted. The professional historian, therefore, cannot fail to be satisfied with Bede's method of writing history and his careful use of source material.

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[9] E. J. Sutcliffe, S. J., *Biblica,* 7 (1926).

So we turn from an attempted analysis of the method employed by Bede and the all too sketchy consideration of the sources used by him to the man himself to justify—if justification were needed—the salutation on the twelfth hundredth anniversary of his death, Bede, model for historians. We like to think that this may be found in the concluding words of the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People,* where Bede writes: "And now, I beseech these, good Jesus, that to whom thou hast graciously granted sweely to partake of the words of thy wisdom and knowledge, thou wilt also vouchsafe that he may some time or other come to three, the fountain of all wisdom, and always appear before thy face, who livest and reignest world without end. Amen!"

PHILIP J. FURLONG.

MISCELLANY

A NEW STUDY ON THE POLITICAL RÔLE OF ST. AMBROSE *

This book deserves a warm welcome as an important contribution to Ambrosian studies and to the political and constitutional history of the later Roman Empire. Previous writers of monographs on the life of St. Ambrose from Baronius to De Labriolle have been, with two exceptions, mainly concerned with Ambrose the saint, the theologian, the man of letters, giving insufficient attention to Ambrose the statesman. On the other hand, the monographs of De Broglie and von Campenhausen, while formally dealing with the political rôle of St. Ambrose, are quite incomplete, to say nothing of other charges that can be brought against them. Hence, as M. Palanque has taken pains to demonstrate in his preface, an adequate monograph on the political side of St. Ambrose's career was badly needed.

The book is divided as follows. The introduction (1-24) deals with the birth, education, and social environment of St. Ambrose, with his career in the imperial administration, and with his election to the episcopate. Part I (25-188) treats of St. Ambrose and the Valentinian Dynasty; Part II (189-318), of St. Ambrose and the Theodosian Dynasty; Part III (319-386), of the political ideas of St. Ambrose. Then, after a general conclusion (386-404), come three elaborate appendices: I, *Critical Study of the Sources* (405-434); II, *Researches on the Genesis of the Works of St. Ambrose* (435-479); III, *Essay on Ambrosian Chronology* (480-556). The book closes with a copious bibliography (557-575), a chronological table, and an index (mostly of proper names).

One feature in the arrangement of M. Palanque's book is surprising. He has relegated to appendices, forming almost a third of the whole work, a great deal of material that is essential for his main exposition. The appendices in fact constitute, from the scientific point of view, one of the most important sections of his book. It would certainly have been better, had he incorporated the major part of the matter in the present appendices into chapters at the beginning of his monograph. The vital thing, however, is that the studies contained in the appendices have been made and are available.

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* Jean-Remy Palanque, *Saint Ambroise et l'Empire Romain. Contribution à l'histoire des rapports de l'Eglise et de l'Etat à la fin du quatrième siècle.* Paris, 1933, xvi + 599.

M. Palanque has brought to his task of writing this monograph three necessary qualifications: a thorough knowledge of St. Ambrose's works, a competent acquaintance with the political and constitutional history of the fourth century, and a keen and resourceful mind for grappling with historical problems. Through the possession of the second qualification—so conspicuously lacking in most previous writers on St. Ambrose—he has been able to deal intelligently with the career of Ambrose the layman in the public service and with the more important question of Ambrose the bishop in his relations with the Roman State. Thus, errors of earlier biographers have been corrected, many obscure points have been clarified, and the motives of St. Ambrose's political activities have been properly and sympathetically understood and evaluated. To cite specific examples of M. Palanque's contributions is unnecessary here. Let it suffice to say that his work is of primary importance to all students of St. Ambrose and of the history of the later Roman Empire. On the other hand, precisely because it is such an important book and because the reviews of it which have so far come to my notice have been, with two exceptions,[1] uncritical panegyrics, I feel that it will be worth while to point out some errors in fact, in interpretation, and in method, which I have observed. I may say at once that the more serious defects are to be found in the appendices, which latter would seem in part at least to have been composed with haste and carelessness.

M. Palanque (5) asserts that all the evidence at our disposal indicates that Ambrose's boyhood was passed at Rome and not at Treves. He cites in proof Ambrose, *Virg.* 3, 1, *Exam.* 4, 20, *Enarr. in Psalm.* 40, 24, and Paulinus of Milan, *vita Ambr.* 4. But only one of these texts, *Virg.* 3. 1, can be definitely connected with Rome, and there is nothing in the reference to Marcellina's receiving the veil from Pope Liberius to indicate that Ambrose was present on the occasion. On the other hand, the language of Paulinus: *cum adolevisset et esset in urbe Roma constitutus cum matre vidua et sorore,* would certainly seem to point to a boyhood passed elsewhere than at Rome. He speaks (9) without qualification of Ambrose as being the translator of the *De Bello Iudaico,* although, as I shall indicate below, the Ambrosian authorship of this work is now generally rejected. It is argued (10, line 10 ff.) that Ambrose had a particular veneration for Pope Liberius on the ground that the latter is referred to in *Virg.* 3, 1 as *beatae memoriae,* and *ibid.* 15, as *sanctae memoriae.* But these are conventional phrases which signify no special personal regard.[2]

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[1] P. De Labriolle, *Revue des Etudes Latines,* XII (1934), 237-239; Fr. Halkin, *Analecta Bollandiana,* LII (1934), 395-401.

[2] See Sr. Bridget O'Brien, *Titles of Address in Christian Latin Epistolography,* Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, vol. XXI, 1930, 65-69.

To speak of the *gens Albina* (10, 4 lines from end) is a bad slip. Albinus is a *cognomen* not a *gentilicium*. The Albini in question here belonged to the *gens Ceionia*.[3] Since the laws of Nov. 30, 373 and May 21, 374 are both labelled in the *Codex Theodosianus* as *data* at Trier, M. Palanque (33, line 5 ff., and note 26), on the ground that he can see no reason for Valentinian coming to Italy in the interval, suggests that we should substitute *proposita* for *data* at Milan in the law of Feb. 5, 374, adding that "we are often obliged to do this in the *Cod. Theod.* (Seeck, *Regesten*, 79 ff.)." The suggestion is to be rejected as being arbitrary. It was quite possible for Valentinian to be in Italy in Feb., 374. Hence, in the absence of strong reasons to show that he could not be there, we must hold that Seeck is undoubtedly right in retaining the *data* at Milan for the law mentioned. In writing (42) "Selon l'idéal des Antonins que les rhéteurs de l'Histoire Auguste avaient rendu classique," the author does not seem to know that the *Historia Augusta* in its present form is largely the work of an anonymous writer who was a contemporary of St. Ambrose.[4] It is maintained (71, note 165) that the constitution of Gratian (*Cod. Theod.*, XVI, 5, 4), which is dated April 22, 376, should be assigned to 380. But no sufficient reasons are given for this shift, and E. Stein has shown conclusively in *Byzantion*, IX (1934), 341, note 1, that the only change in date possible would be from 376 to 378.

M. Palanque in discussing (82, note 16) the signatories of the acts of the Council of Aquileia cites the reading of a good MS. (Paris. 8917, f. 252), *Amantius Ioviensium* (Jovia in Savia), only to reject it in favor of the common reading, *Amantius Niciensis* (Nice), on the grounds that the genitive plural in place of the adjective in the singular in such cases is abnormal, and that Niciensis is more probable also, because in the list of names Amantius comes immediately after the Bishops of Orange, Octodurum, and Grenoble. I believe, on the contrary, that the reading *Ioviensium* ought to be retained. The genitive plural may be unusual, but it is possible and intelligible, and is to be defended as the *difficilior lectio* of a good MS. Furthermore, an examination of the list of signatories shows that they are not grouped according to a regional principle, and consequently no valid argument can be based on the fact that Amantius happens to follow Dominus of Grenoble. It is wrong to assign (107, note 168) the *Symbolum Athanasianum* (not *Athanasium*) to St. Ambrose, as will be indicated below.

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[3] See Seeck's part of the art. *Ceionius* in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. III, cols. 1858-1866.

[4] See E. Kornemann, *Römische Geschichte* (Gercke-Norden, *Einleitung*, III, 2, 1933), 155-157, and especially P. Lambrechts, "Le problème de l'Histoire Auguste," *L'Antiquité Classique*, III (1934), 503-516.

M. Palanque in discussing (117-118) Gratian's abandonment of the title, *Pontifex Maximus*, again, as in his article in *Byzantion*, VIII (1933), 41-47, puts much weight on the testimony of Zosimus, except that he dates the act not at the beginning of Gratian's reign but in 382. While I do not feel that Zosimus' dramatic account of Gratian's refusal of the insignia of the office in question can be completely rejected, yet, after sifting it critically, about all that one can say is that combined with other evidence it indicates that the title of *Pontifex Maximus* was dropped by Gratian. This title does not appear in extant inscriptions after 369, its last positive attribution to Gratian appears in Ausonius *grat. act.* 7, 35, written in 379—although this poetical passage should not be pressed too confidently as evidence—and it is not employed by Gratian's successors. The dropping of the title, moreover, was certainly not "the most important act perhaps in the imperial legislation from the beginning of the century." The pagan intellectuals like Symmachus well knew that the title had lost most of its original significance and thus could be accepted by Christian emperors because it had become merely a traditional ornament of the imperial office. Hence there was apparently no stir, as M. Palanque himself is forced to admit, when it was abandoned. Lastly, it should be observed that the dropping of the title is not necessarily connected with immediate aggressive measures against pagan institutions and privileges. Accordingly, M. Palanque's chief argument for assigning this act to 382 has no decisive force.

The author argues (145, note 35 and 138, note 79) that the main reason for Valentinian's sojourn in Venetia from August to December 384 was to avoid all contact with Ambrose and his adherents. The view of Seeck that this move was made out of disquietude over Maximus and his plans is surely preferable. The fact that Maximus was not striking openly does not signify that Valentinian was freed from anxiety, and the latter could certainly not allow a retreat from Ambrose to be thought his chief motive for being in Venetia, as this would be a blow to imperial prestige. M. Palanque (148, note 54) on the basis of three references in Ambr. *Epist.* 21 to the bishops who assembled to advise Ambrose in his dispute with Auxentius claims that he has discovered a new ecclesiastical council. But it is hardly necessary to raise this meeting of obviously local bishops to the status of a formal synod. Furthermore, in making the statement that no historian has given attention to this "council," the author seems to have forgotten the note of the Maurist editors on *Epist.* 21, 13: *Hinc intelligas episcopos statim post legem a Valentiniano latam, Ambrosii cura convenisse, ut in hoc rerum articulo viderent, ne quid Ecclesia caperet detrimenti.*

M. Palanque writes (156, note 109): "La Vulgate donne le chiffre de

72 disciples: l'on voit qu'Ambroise suit une version différente, ce qui est fréquent chez lui." The last words betray an ignorance of the fact that Ambrose never used the Vulgate, as the latter was not completed and in general circulation until after his death. The term *employés* (161, line 3 from end) is too vague a rendering for *agentes in rebus*. Something like our English *imperial agents* would be better. To the estimates of Stilicho given by Seeck and Stein the author (303) might have added that of Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. I, London, 1923, 172-173. As De Labriolle has pointed out in his review of the present book (*l. c.*, 238-239), there is nothing in Ambr. *Off*. 1, 141 to indicate, as M. Palanque maintains (332, line 3 ff.), that the Bishop of Milan was hostile to the barbarians or that he justified war against them as such. I might add that there is a similar error of interpretation on the same page (line 4 from end and note 35). In the passage quoted from the *De Tobia*, Ambrose says that one can exact usury from an enemy (*hostis*), but he does not say, as the author implies, that foreigners and barbarians are *ipso facto* to be regarded as *hostes*. Through a wrong interpretation of *Epist*. 18, 30, the author (361) makes Ambrose include the worship of Venus among the Oriental cults brought to Rome. But Ambrose only says: "Whom the Africans worship as Caelestis, the Persians as Mithra (Ambrose erroneously makes the latter a goddess), many worship as Venus."

In Appendix I there are some bad slips, which are probably to be explained in part by the fact that the author did not have continuous access to a properly equipped library. It is maintained (406) that Ambrose is now generally regarded as the author of the so called Hegesippus, *De Bello Iudaico*. But actually the Ambrosian authorship of this work is rejected by all scholars with the possible exception of V. Ussani. Scholz is not for Ambrosian authorship, as M. Palanque seems to believe (note 5), but assigns the work to a converted Jew, and Bardenhewer, at one time in favor of Ambrosian authorship, has changed his opinion.[5] I might add that the researches of my own students have led me to believe that the work is certainly not Ambrosian. The monograph of W. Dwyer[6] on the vocabulary of Hegesippus has indicated that, while the differences from Ambrose are not striking enough to reject the possibility of Ambrosian authorship, yet the resemblances are not sufficiently marked to make a positive attribution of the work to Ambrose. On the other hand, the study of the clausulae in Ambrose and Hegesippus made by Sr. Rosella Delaney,[7] and that of J. P. McCormick[8] on certain phases of syntax in Hegesippus and Ambrose have indicated such differences as can only be explained on the basis of separate authorship. How Ussani can refute this evidence is difficult to see. His own argument for Ambrosian authorship has been chiefly based on the manuscript tradition, but this is late and not conclusive in the opinion of other scholars.

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[5] See his *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, vol. III, 2nd ed. with *Nachträge*, 1923, 677.

[6] *Catholic University of America Patristic Studies*, vol. XXVII, 1931.

[7] *Id.*, vol. XL, 1934.

[8] *Id.*, vol. XLIII, 1935.

The *De Sacramentis* is probably Ambrosian, but in discussing its authorship, M. Palanque (406, note 7) should have cited the important article by Dom Morin, "Pour l'authenticité du de Sacramentis et de l'Explanatio Symboli de saint Ambroise," *Jahrbuch fur Liturgiewissenschaft,* VIII (1928), 86-106 (referred to in another connection in note 8). Dom Morin is in agreement with Faller in assigning the *De Sacramentis* to Ambrose, but approaches the problem of authorship from a different angle.

Throughout his monograph, and especially on page 306 and 508, M. Palanque maintains with disquieting confidence the Ambrosian authorship of the *Symbolum Athanasianum* (not *Athanasium,* as he writes), accepting in the main the thesis of Brewer. But the latter's views have been generally rejected and the question of authorship is still as undecided as ever.[9] Moreover, M. Palanque is guilty of a gross error when he declares that Dom Morin now admits the *ambrosianité* of the *Symbolum Athanasianum.* In the article just mentioned, which is cited in corroboration of this statement, Dom Morin is not concerned with the *Symbolum Athanasianum* (*Quicumque*), but with the *Explanatio Symboli ad Initiandos* (Migne, *P. L.,* vol. XVII, cols. 1193-1196), an entirely different work!

On pp. 409-416 there is a long discussion of the historical value of Paulinus' *Vita Ambrosii.* Resuming the conclusions of his article in the *Revue des sciences religeuses,* vol. IV (1924), 26-42, 401-420, M. Palanque claims for Paulinus a greater critical sense and historical worth than do other scholars. While Paulinus has been criticized too severely for his credulity, the sober fact remains that the *Vita Ambrosii* was not written as a critical biography, but rather as a work of edification in which the marvelous, both genuine and imaginary, was given the conspicuous part, and that Paulinus, by his omissions and by what he emphasizes and does not emphasize in his narrative, shows how little understanding he had of the true significance of Ambrose in the political and religious life of his time. But for a criticism in detail of M. Palanque's treatment of Paulinus, let it suffice to refer to the judicious observations of Halkin in his review of the present book (*l. c.,* 398-399). As regards the date of the *Vita,* the author takes up an old argument of Bouvy and declares that Paulinus' reference to St. Jerome as *beatus* is decisive for putting the work after 421 A. D., the year of the latter's death. But this argument has no real

[9] See Rauschen-Altaner, *Patrologie,* 1931, 205.

value, since *beatus* is used in contemporary literature as a title of the living as well as of the dead.[10] Halkin, on the other hand, suggests that the Bishop Muranus mentioned by Paulinus (*Vita*, 11, 54) would seem to have been identical with the Muranus who became Bishop of Bolita after 416 A. D. In that case, we have a strong argument for assigning the composition of the *Vita* to the period of the second prefecture of John, i. e. to 422 A. D.

Appendix II is devoted to an examination of Ambrose's works with a view to determining (1) whether they were written primarily as treatises or were delivered first as sermons and later revised for publication in treatise form, and (2) whether each work is an independent unit or belongs to a series comprising several works. As regards the first point, M. Palanque maintains that on the basis of criteria which he has established (436-437), he has been able to distinguish with greater exactness than previous scholars the genesis of the various productions of St. Ambrose. The criteria indicating sermon origin are: (1) the final doxologies which invoke the Trinity or Christ in various formulae, all ending in *Amen*; (2) expressions in the body of the work such as *vos qui auditis, fratres,* and analogous forms of address to auditors present; (3) phrases such as *audistis hodie, hodie lectum est,* that refer to the liturgy of the day, from which the preacher draws material for his sermon. Halkin (*l. c.*, 399-400) rightly considers these criteria insufficient on the ground that all these expressions could be regarded just as well as apostrophes to imaginary auditors, and that we have no guarantee that they have not disappeared from a sermon later revised for publication. I would add that in my opinion M. Palanque's whole method of approach to this problem is unsound. All previous scholars are agreed that the majority of Ambrose's works are to be traced ultimately to sermons, and M. Palanque himself, after applying his criteria rigorously and rejecting a sermon origin for several productions, admits (465, note 88) that four-fifths of Ambrose's extant work appeared originally in sermon form. In the light of this fact, I hold that in the case of a work of Ambrose whose genesis is open to discussion there is a strong presumption in favor of sermon origin, and that the latter should be accepted unless it can be proved definitely by *positive* external or internal evidence that such a work was in origin a written treatise. M. Palanque, on the basis of the absence of his criteria, claims, *e. g.*, that the *De Nabuthae* is not of sermon origin. But the general tone of this piece, its indebtedness to homilies of St. Basil, and it close resemblance in style and subject matter to the *De Helia* and *De Tobia*—both admittedly going back to sermons—all constitute along with the presumption for sermon origin mentioned above such a strong probability for a sermon genesis, that good positive evidence, not the mere absence of M. Palanque's unsatisfactory criteria, would have to be adduced to prove the contrary. He is better advised elsewhere in his work (224, 527, and 580), where he speaks of the *De Nábuthae* as a sermon. For the reason given above, I find the author unconvincing also in holding that the *De Noe* (439), *De Abraham* (440), *De Isaac et Anima* (441), *De Patriarchis* (442), *Enarratio in Psalm. I* (446), *Enarratio in Psalm. LXI* (448), and *De Mysteriis* (462) are in origin written treatises.

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[10] Cf. *e. g.*, Orosius, *comm.* I, beate pater Augustine (414 A. D.; see the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae,* II, 1914, 53 ff.).

Some further points in Appendix II call for critical comment. The suggestion (436, note 2) that the use of clauses introduced by *quod, quia,* and *quoniam* in place of the accusative and infinitive construction in indirect discourse is a mark of *négligence* in Ambrose's style betrays ignorance of the historical evolution of Latin syntax and especially of the usages of the Christian Latin *Sondersprache.*[11] M. Palanque maintains (444) against all Ambrosian scholars since the Maurists that the *De Helia* represents one original sermon, and not perhaps three. He argues that it is impossible to discern any breaks that would indicate several sermons, and that the length of the whole piece (30 columns in Migne) does not exceed that of other works of Ambrose, as *e.g.*, the *De Apologia David* (33 columns) *De Excessu Sat.*, II (39 columns), and *Enarratio in Psalm. XXXVI* (45 columns), which he regards as being single sermons in origin. The author's contention in my opinion is certainly to be rejected. The absence of breaks that would indicate separate sermons is of little weight for the reason that Ambrose in reducing several sermons to treatise form for publication tried undoubtedly to obliterate all signs of separation. It is only in those works which he prepared for publication with special haste that we should expect to find any clear traces of the individual sermons entering into their composition. The author's second argument is, on close examination, even less tenable. There is strong evidence to show, as he himself admits (445), that the *Apologia David* is made up of two sermons, and hence its length should not be adduced to make plausible a one sermon origin for the *De Helia.* The *De Excessu Sat.* II is an elaborate funeral oration whose length cannot be legitimately employed as an argument for that of ordinary sermons such as entered into the composition of the *De Helia* and similar works. Again, there is nothing to prove that the *Enarratio in Psalm. XXXVI* is a single sermon. On the other hand, a comparison of the length of the *De Helia* with that of the homilies, e. g., that can be distinguished with certainty in the *Exameron,* or with that of the numerous popular sermons of St. Augustine, indicates clearly that the ordinary sermon in Ambrose's time did not assume the proportions of thirty to forty columns in Migne. Lastly, a little common sense in this matter should not be amiss. Thus, I am sure that if M. Palanque had read aloud slowly the thirty columns of the *De Helia* or the thirty-seven columns of the *De Virginitate* (also claimed to be one sermon, page 456), had noted the time required, and had then reflected on the strain that such a long delivery would have put on a man of Ambrose's delicate constitution—to say nothing of his audience—he would soon have convinced himself that Ambrose did not preach ordinary sermons running to any such length.

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[11] See *e. g.*, J. Schrijnen, *Revue des Etudes Latines,* XII (1934), 101.

M. Palanque has established in part a new chronology for Ambrose and his works, and has made it the basis of his interpretation of events in numerous places in his exposition. Appendix III, therefore, in which he attempts to justify the new dates, is one of the most important sections of his book—and the one most open to controversy. To deal adequately with all changes would be impossible here. But I must discuss some passages at least where I find the author unconvincing or even incorrect in his assertions.

The determination of the year of Ambrose's birth depends ultimately on the dating of *Epist.* LIX, where he says *annum tertium et quinquagesimum iam perduxerim.* But the date of this *Letter* itself cannot be exactly fixed, as the chief indication of date in it are the words *nos autem obiecti barbaricis motibus et bellorum procellis.* This vague allusion has been usually connected with the invasion of Maximus or with that of Eugenius, and the *Letter* dated accordingly in A. D. 387 or 393-394. M. Palanque (480-482, 542-543) rejects the possibility of a reference to Maximus and Eugenius—although his arguments can be challenged—and, by connecting the *barbarici motus* with several equally vague allusions in the *De Obitu Valentiniani* (2, 4, 22), assigns the *Letter* to April, 392, a short time before Valentinian's death. This date would put Ambrose's birth early in 339. The author is so sure of his ground that he even takes the words *in . . . omnium molestiarum freto* (*Epist.*, LIX, 3) as alluding to the embarrassment in which Ambrose was placed by the conflict between Arbogast and his emperor! This is all certainly ingenious, but to me is not convincing.

The expression *Salvatoris natali* (Ambr. *Virg.*, 3, 1) undoubtedly refers here to Christmas, not to the Epiphany as the author thinks (483, note 14).[12] On the same page the whole discussion of the translation of the *De Bello Iudaico* is beside the point. As I have indicated above, this work in all probability is non-Ambrosian.

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[12] See Dom B. Botte, O.S.B., *Les origines de la Noël et de l'Epiphanie. Etude historique* (*Textes et Etudes liturgiques I*), Louvain, 1932, 32-39, where this passage of Ambrose is dealt with.

It is maintained (483-484) that Ambrose came to Milan as *consularis* c. 370 (and not in 372-373, as is usually held), because his popularity at the death of Auxentius is only explained after several years of administration, and especially because Satyrus, who only separated from his brother at this time, made *de nombreux voyages* before the latter became bishop. But this argumentation is not solid. Why would it take several years of administration to explain Ambrose's popularity? A few months or a year at most would be quite sufficient. As regards Satyrus, there was ample time for him to make journeys between 372 and the end of 374, although there is nothing to indicate in the passage cited from *De Excessu Sat.*, I, 50 (not 38): *quoties post naufragium . . . maria tranfretaverit diffusasque regiones obeundo peragrarit* (not *peragravit*) that he made "numerous voyages" *before* his brother's elevation to the episcopate. The author's adoption of 373 instead of 374—which will be discussed below—as the year of Ambrose's consecration is obviously responsible for the departure here from the traditional dating.

According to the current reading of St. Jerome's *Chronicle,* St. Ambrose was consecrated apparently in the *tenth* year of Valentinian I, hence apparently in 373. On the basis of the face value of the *Chronicle's* evidence, M. Palanque (484-487), following von Campenhausen, has rejected the traditional date of 374 in favor of 373. Halkin in reviewing the present book (*l. c.*, 400) has argued against 373 as follows: the reading of the *Chronicle* in this place would seem to be erroneous, as several MSS have *eleventh* in place of *tenth,* and if the reference to Ambrose together with the one immediately following are assigned to the year 373, the year 374 is left unmarked with events, an unparalleled phenomenon in this part of the *Chronicle.* But the most serious objection is this: the traditional date of the consecration of St. Ambrose, a date supported by excellent liturgical evidence, is Sunday, Dec. 7. Now Sunday fell on Dec. 7 in 374, not in 373. Hence, since no convincing argument can be brought against this liturgical evidence, it is better to rely upon it than upon a reading in St. Jerome's *Chronicle* which can be questioned.

But von Campenhausen, Palanque, and Halkin have made a grave mistake in assuming that the numbers I-XIIII opposite the events recorded for the reigns of Valentinian and Valens refer to the years Feb. 26-Feb. 26, beginning with Feb. 26, 364. In reality these numbers in our present text of the *Chronicle,* beginning with I, evidently record events from the commencement of the year 365, and Helm is quite right in his edition of the *Chronicle* in placing opposite I the year 365, opposite II, the year 366, and opposite X, the year 374, etc. A key to the correctness of his dating is to be found, *e. g.*, in the reference to the election of Pope Damasus under II and in that to Gratian's being made emperor under III.

Now we know that Damasus became Pope Oct. 1, 366, and that Gratian became emperor Aug. 24, 367. Hence the election of Damasus, which is listed under II, took place without question in the *third* year, and the raising of Gratian to the imperial dignity, which is listed under III, in the *fourth* year of Valentinian I. Consequently the election of Ambrose, which is listed under X, must have occurred in the *eleventh* year of Valentinian, *i.e.* in 374. Thus, the current reading of St. Jerome's *Chronicle*, when properly interpreted, is not against the traditional date of 374 for Ambrose's consecration, but on the contrary really confirms it.

In the discussion (489-490) of the date of Satyrus' death, it is maintained that the words in *De Excessu Sat.*, I, 32, *cum a viro nobili revocareris Symmacho tuo parente,* refer to Avianus Symmachus, the father of the great orator, and not to the latter, to whom they have usually been applied. The author argues that *parens* would not be appropriate to the orator, Q. Aurelius Symmachus, who was a little younger than Satyrus and of the same social rank. Rauschen's explanation that *parens* is used here of a person superior in official position is rejected on the ground that Ambrose would not have spoken thus of an old boyhood friend occupying an office which had already been held by both Satyrus and himself. Now whatever may be said about *parens* as a title of address—and it deserves a special investigation—M. Palanque is certainly wrong in placing a proconsul of Africa on the same level with a consularis of Aemilia and Liguria. The proconsul of Africa was one of the highest dignitaries in the Late Empire, enjoying great prestige and belonging to the class of *spectabiles,* while consulares of provinces like Aemilia and Liguria were of much less importance, and in rank, simple *clarissimi.*[13] As regards the month of Satyrus' death, the author is not convincing, when, on the basis of the fact that the voyage to Africa took place in winter and on that of a literal interpretation of the words *mature postquam venit ereptus est* (*De Excessu Sat.*, I, 17), he maintains (492-493) that it occurred in February, although the Roman Martyrology celebrates the feast of St. Satyrus on Sept. 17. Since the use of the word *mature* in an emotional passage of a funeral oration does not necessarily mean that death resulted immediately, but would easily allow for an illness of some months, and since especially no serious argument can be brought against the date in the Liturgy, it is certainly preferable with Seeck and Rauschen to accept the date Sept. 17. Incidentally it might be remarked that Tillemont (X, 735) does *not* reject this date, as M. Palanque asserts, but rather, while admitting that it does not have compelling force, gives a plausible reason for accepting it.

The author's discussion of the problem of the composition and date of the *De Tobia* (445 and 528) would have profited from a deeper acquaintance with the style of this work. The style of the first part shows marked affinities with that of Ambrose's earlier works and is quite different from that of the second part. Hence the Maurists, followed by Kellner, Bardenhewer, and Schanz, are probably right, at least so far as the first half of the *De Tobia* is concerned, in assigning this half to the early years of St. Ambrose's episcopate. But for a full treatment of the *De Tobia* and its problems it will be enough to refer here to the monograph of L. M. Zucker, *S. Ambrosii De Tobia*[14] (especially pp. 2-18). This work evidently appeared too late to be used by the author in the present book.

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[13] See P. Willems, *Le Droit public romain,* 7th ed., 1910, 568-569 and 604-605.

There is no longer any question that the massacre of Thessalonica occurred in 390, but the month in which it took place cannot be established with equal certainty. St. Ambrose in *Epist.* LI, written shortly after the event, speaks of Theodosius as having just returned to Milan after an absence. On the basis of evidence furnished by the Theodosian Code we know that the emperor was absent from Milan in 390 apparently between April 4 and June 4, and surely between August 18 and September 8, if not even until late November.[15] Lastly, Theodoret (V, 17) tells us that Theodosius' penance covered eight months, culminating at Christmas. Through combining these testimonies Seeck (*Geschichte,* V, 531-533) was able to put the beginning of the Thessalonica affair in April. His dating is now followed by all scholars with the exception of M. Palanque (536-539), who believes that he has discovered new and certain evidence for putting the commencement of the event mentioned in August. The evidence in question is this passage in Ambr. *Epist.* LI, 14: *Multifarie Deus noster admonet signis caelestibus, prophetarum praeceptis; visionibus etiam peccatorum vult nos intellegere, quo rogemus eum. . . .* In the words *signis caelestibus* he sees an absolutely certain reference to the comet which was visible in 390 from August 22 to September 17. Accordingly the allusion in *Epist.* LI to the emperor's absence must refer to the second absence, *i. e.* to that from August 18 to at least September 8; *Epist.* LI itself must have been written about September 10; and the massacre of Thessalonica must be placed in August. Theodoret's statement that the emperor's penance lasted eight months should not be raised in objection to the new dating, because Theodoret is generally untrustworthy and in the present case, through the certain evidence of *signis caelestibus,* is caught *en flagrant délit* (537, last line). Lastly, in the light of such certainty, there is no need to be concerned about the possibility of the emperor's absence extending considerably beyond September 8.

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[14] *Catholic University of America Patristic Studies,* vol. XXXV, 1933.

[15] See Seeck, *Regesten,* 277-278.

M. Palanque is not only unconvincing here but even phantastic. *Epist.* LI was written to condemn Theodosius' act and to impress upon him the necessity of doing penance. The history of King David is appropriately introduced and the emperor is exhorted to follow his example. Then, towards the end of the *Letter,* Ambrose, after mentioning a dream in which he was not permitted to offer the Divine Sacrifice in the emperor's presence, employs the words cited above. The mention of his dream naturally leads him to speak of divine signs in general, of which the precepts of the prophets and visions may be regarded as definite manifestations. At the same time, the mention of such precepts and visions serves to recall his specific references to the prophet Nathan and to his own vision in the preceding portion of the *Letter.* Consequently, in my opinion, the words *signis caelestibus* in their immediate context and in that of the whole *Letter* cannot possibly be thought of as referring to the comet of 390. Further examination of the passage merely confirms this view. The word *caelestis* in Ambrose as in other Christian writers usually has a religious sense: *of* or *belonging to Heaven, of* or *belonging to God, spiritual, divine,* and it surely has this meaning in the present context, where the phrase *signis caelestibus* is closely connected with the obviously religious expressions *prophetarum praeceptis* and *visionibus peccatorum.* The obvious interpretation of *signis caelestibus* in the light of general Ambrosian usage and of the context is, then, not *signs seen in the sky,* but rather *signs of any kind whatsoever emanating from God.* Again, the author gives no further proof for his assumption that St. Ambrose would refer to a contemporary comet or similar celestial phenomenon as a sign of warning or admonition. I should be very curious to see such proof, for in an age when men like St. Ambrose and St. Augustine had to combat a deep and wide spread belief in astrology extraordinary circumspection was imperative regarding the interpretation of eclipses and comets, and there was a definite tendency to explain such phenomena on scientific grounds so far as possible. Hence it is my conviction that St. Ambrose would certainly not refer to the comet of 390 as a divine sign of warning in connection with the massacre of Thessalonica.

The author's other arguments for dating the massacre in August have no independent value, but it would be wrong not to criticize him severely for his arbitrary rejection or manipulation of Theodoret's testimony on the length of Theodosius' penance and the date of its culmination. Throughout his book he shows a genuine aversion for Theodoret, who is of course often unsatisfactory and even untrustworthy. But only bias can explain the rejection or mangling of this particular piece of evidence, which seems quite sound and which therefore has rightly been accepted by historians like Rauschen and Seeck. M. Palanque's attempt to throw out such clear and positive evidence on the basis of an ingenious but arbitrary interpretation of a relatively ambiguous passage in St. Ambrose can only be labelled as an example of bad method. He, and not Theodoret, is here caught *en flagrant délit*. Since he has failed to prove his point, we must retain the generally accepted dates for the Thessalonica affair, for the Council of Milan, and for *Epist.* LI. At the same time, we must reject M. Palanque's whole view and the consequences he draws from it (229 ff.), that the law of Aug. 18, 390 (*Cod. Theod.*, IX, 40, 13) was issued *before* the massacre.

M. Palanque says of the *De Sacramentis* (541, line 4 ff.): "On a vu qu'il a été utilisé par Ambroise lui-même pour rédiger le De Mysteriis." But when we check his statements on pp. 406 and 462, we find that he has jumped from *il semble* to *il est*. This is careless writing. The authorship of the *De Sacramentis* is not yet settled beyond reasonable doubt and there is not yet definite proof that the *De Mysteriis* is really a résumé of the former work. On the contrary, it is even possible, as in the past, to regard the *De Sacramentis* as an expansion in part of the *De Mysteriis*. That we are dealing here with probabilities only, should certainly have been emphasized throughout the discussion.

Since the author has evidently striven for completeness in his formidable bibliography of nineteen pages, a few critical remarks will be in order regarding its arrangement and content. In the first place, it was not a happy thought to list editions and translations of ancient authors under the names of their editors and thus scatter them from one end of the bibliography to the other. For example, one finds the works of Ambrose that have been edited in the *Vienna Corpus* under Petschenig and Schenkl; Theodoret, under Parmentier; the English translation of Socrates in the *Post-Nicene Fathers,* under Zenos, etc. In this connection it might be observed also that the first volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History* should be listed under this heading, and not under the names of its editors, Gwatkin and Whitney. Secondly, the author has listed a number of works that certainly no longer have any value to modern Ambrosian scholars. To be specific: why waste space on Alzog, Baehr, Cave, Duruy, Nirschl, Oudin, Stoever, and many others? This simply adds to the cost of printing and at the same time detracts from the scientific value of a bibliography. In the third place, on the other hand, not only should some of the books listed have been used in later editions, but there are some serious omissions. Thus Bardenhewer's *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur,* IV (1924), should be cited, and not vol. II of the French translation of his old *Patrologie*; Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* should not be used in Guizot's translation, but in

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the English edition of 1896 with Bury's notes; Teuffel's *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* should be cited in the 6th and 7th ed. of 1913-1920, not in the old 4th ed. of 1882. Among the more serious omissions, in the light of what is presented, may be mentioned: J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire (395-565 A.D.)*, 2 vols., London, 1923; Funk-Bihlmeyer, *Kirchengeschichte,* vol. I, 9th ed., Paderborn, 1931; A. S. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns* (containing the best text of the Ambrosian hymns with an excellent commentary), Cambridge, 1922; G. Di Costa, art. " Graziano " in De Ruggiero, *Dizionario Epigrafico*; O. Seeck, art. *Gratianus* and *Symmachus* in Pauly-Wissowa. It is very strange that the last work does not seem to have been employed at all by the author, in spite of its vital importance for studies in his field. I am sure, however, that the limitations of the library at Montpellier are responsible for some of these defects on the bibliographical side.

In concluding my critical observations I should like to emphasize what I said at the beginning. The present monograph is a contribution of fundamental importance to Ambrosian studies and to our knowledge of the relations of Church and State in the fourth century. It is precisely because of its importance that I have read it so carefully and have decided, instead of adding unqualified praises to those already given, to enhance its value to subsequent readers by pointing out and discussing various shortcomings, although I have not attempted to be exhaustive in this regard. M. Palanque has a pronounced tendency to reject traditional evidence, especially in the case of dates, without sufficient grounds, and then to reconstruct events as he is sure they must have happened. This procedure is methodically unsound. Historical reconstruction is valuable and necessary, but it must always be exercised with the most careful regard for the ancient sources available, and the provisional character of its results must be formally emphasized. The defect in method indicated is the one serious fault of which M. Palanque is guilty in the present book, but it is one that can easily be corrected. We were glad to note that he has been invited to collaborate in writing vol. III of the new *Histoire de l'Eglise*, edited by A. Fliche and V. Martin, and we are confident that, if he is more circumspect in dealing with his sources, his contribution will be worthy of his own talent and learning, and also of the best traditions of French Catholic scholarship, so eminently exemplified in P. De Labriolle and G. Bardy, who have been announced as his collaborators.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Battleground, Syria and Palestine: the Seedplot of Religion. By HILAIRE BELLOC. (Philadelphia: Lippincott Co. 1936. Pp. 337. $4.00.)

The present volume is a synthesis of all the happenings in Syria and Palestine in the sphere of religion and religious history. The central point is the advent of Jesus, the Godman and Redeemer; what preceded was a preparation for His coming and what followed is a concrete realization of His Kingdom.

From the dawn of history, it was in Syria and Palestine that the various civilizations of the South, East and North and later on of the West met and came into conflict. It was there that a politically insignificant people, the B'nê Israel after their ancestor, Abraham, developed monotheism which spread through the world. There also were verified the various prophecies concerning the Messias. There He came and from there after His Ascension His religion went to the Gentiles particularly in the West. The Apostolic Church had all the essentials of the institutions and notes that are characteristic of the Church to-day, as against the claims of various separatists. The Church triumphed but was swept away from Palestine by the "Return of the Desert" in the seventh century. The Crusades checked Islam for a while, but it finally gained the day. At the present time Syria and Palestine are still the meeting place of various concepts of civilizations and religions. The French mandate in the North and the British mandate in the South are only an experiment rendered more difficult by the advent of Zionism. Meanwhile the Jew is everywhere, and everywhere opposes the ideal of Christianity as did his fathers of 2000 years ago; indeed he contributes a remarkably large share to the anti-Christian upheaval of our day, and unconsciously he acts the part of a witness.

As a synthesis the "Battleground" is a book of grandeur and literary beauty; the narrative is full of life and the reading of it is fascinating. But a synthesis should be based on an analysis of facts, and I would not guarantee the accuracy of all the details asserted in the work, particularly when the author deals with the early history of Egypt and Mesopotamia. Many of the appreciations seem to the reviewer too sweeping and too broad, and hence sometimes mystifying. The author seems not to be conversant with all the discoveries made in recent years as when he says (p. 45) that we know nothing of the Hittite vocabulary; as a matter of fact we of 1936 know a great deal, not everything of course, since the publication of the documents of Boghasköy and others.

Many an archaeologist will be startled when he reads (pp. 63-64) that the East knew nothing of immortality and that the idea is a contribution from the Gauls. The funerary rites preserved in the graves of Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia, show a clear belief in an after-life; it may not be the concept of immortality as we now hold but it is much more than nothing.

Contrary to what we read on p. 82, the huge blocks used in construction are not characteristic of the Early Phoenicians; far from it. The famous walls of Baalbeck are post-Christian and as to Jerusalem there are no such blocks as described; most of the large blocks are Herodian.

During our readings we have noted many such details that should be revised in the light of modern discoveries and it is not a question of a hypothesis, but of actual documentary evidence. We do not insist on these for fear of giving the impression that the synthesis of the "Battleground" is of an inferior quality. This is not the case; the synthesis as a whole is true. We do regret that there should be imperfections and lack of information, but the interpretation of the main facts is true. Besides, the author becomes more at home when he deals with later periods. The cautious reader will find a great deal to learn in this new contribution of Hilaire Belloc and the *literateur* is sure to enjoy the great aesthetic qualities of the work.

R. Butin, S. M.

The Catholic University of America.

Italy in the Making, 1846-1848. By G. F. H. and J. Berkeley. (New York: Macmillan. 1936. Pp. xlvi, 374. $6.00.)

This work is not a history of states but of a movement; it is concerned primarily with the contribution of Pope Pius IX to the Italian Risorgimento during the first eighteen months of his pontificate. The new pope, known to be a liberal, inaugurated reforms in the government of the Papal States with a rapidity and thoroughness which surpassed all expectations, and his subjects became enthusiastically appreciative. The popularity of Pius IX was quickly utilized by the various groups of nationalists for their own ends. Reforms introduced in the Papal States were made, by agitators for liberalism and unification, the precedent for demanding similar changes in other states of the peninsula. At the instigation of these leaders, each reform, each concession granted by the pope was hailed with extravagant demonstration and made the basis for further demands. The pope's real sentiments were so falsified that his name became the battle cry of those who, in other Italian states, would rise against their rulers, and of those who were bent on war with Austria. The pope made every effort to clarify his position, but he was not permitted to be understood. The purpose of the nationalists was to drive him to the point where he could go no further—that of declaring war on Austria—to discredit him accordingly, and to take matters into their own hands. Their objective had practically been attained when the book closes with the stage set for the Revolution of 1848.

This interesting and scholarly work is compiled largely from documents found in the archives of the various European capitals, although important sources in the Vatican archives have not yet been made available. The student may be annoyed by the frequent recapitulation of matter treated in the first volume, and by occasional anticipation; however, both serve the general reader well. The book is distinguished by dispassionate and objective treatment of a subject rendered difficult by the conflict of feelings and interests, patriotic, selfish, religious, so often involved. Pius IX, the most important personage, is treated with sympathy and understanding. King Ferdinand, King Albert, Radetsky, Minto—all receive more favorable consideration than is ordinarily accorded them. This welcome contribution to the history of the Risorgimento is a worthy continuation of the author's excellent volume covering the years 1815-1846.

Sister LORETTA CLARE.

Mount St. Joseph, Ohio.

L'Angleterre Catholique à la Veille du Schisme. By PIERRE JANELLE. (Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne et ses Fils. 1935. Pp. 380. Fr. 60.)

One of the difficult characters to analyze, one of the tragic figures of the English Reformation period, is Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor of England, and prominent in the years that saw Protestantism first plant itself in the British Isles. Perhaps the chief value of Dr. Janelle's attempt to discover the forces at work immediately preceding the schism of Henry VIII is his study of this man who was perhaps a typical English Catholic ecclesiastic of his day. A humanist, a jurist, a diplomat, even perhaps a politician, Gardiner stands out in these rôles rather than in that of a theologian. From his Cambridge days, when he first came under the influence of Erasmus until he began to play an important part in the drama of the divorce, Gardiner appears in these pages vividly real, explaining much that has always been puzzling—how a country so attached to the Faith could give itself over to the royal will and in the end turn traitor to its better self. Dr. Janelle's book is not a pleasant thing to read; only incidentally do we come across courage, faith, and fidelity to principles in face of death. Across a sky black with the oncoming storm here and there only a clearing reveals the calm and serenity of a Fisher and a More. But such was England of that time, and in choosing Gardiner as the vehicle to explain the mentality which was greatly responsible for the final loss of England to the Faith, Dr. Janelle has made no mistake. No more than Gardiner himself did England wish to cut herself off from the ancient Church. But Gardiner died before the final stroke was made; England—and by that is meant the English people—was powerless in the ensuing years when an all-powerful minority robbed it of everything religious it held most dear. To understand the tragedy of the whole English Reformation one must know what went on in the years immediately preceding the revolt.

That is why this work should be widely known. There is so much about it that merits recognition, such as the influence of the *Il Principe* and the *Defensor Pacis* on the court of Henry VIII, the propaganda resorted to in order to turn England from the papacy into the arms of the pope-king, and the unwillingness of Henry himself to subscribe to the conciliar theory since he did not wish to transfer the prerogatives of the pope to a general council but to himself as far as England was concerned.

Several valuable appendices and an index, as well as a rather detailed table of contents, add to the usefulness of the book. The critical bibliography deserves special praise.

JOSEPH B. CODE.

The Catholic University of America.

Church and State in Tudor Ireland. By ROBERT DUDLEY EDWARDS. (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1935. Pp. xliii, 352. 18s.)

Many of the misconceptions regarding the Reformation period, both of England and of Ireland, are fortunately being cleared away by the historian of today. As far as Ireland is concerned no one has done more than Father Myles Ronan, C. C., in his two important volumes: *The Reformation in Dublin: 1536-1558* and *The Reformation in Ireland under Elizabeth: 1558-1580.* Now comes this equally important work by Dr. Edwards which may be regarded as a supplement and from a different standpoint an introduction to the two Ronan volumes. Not that there are no differences of opinion between the two authors. Dr. Edwards, for instance, refuses to agree with Father Ronan's contention that many of the Irish bishops acknowledged the supremacy of Henry VIII; he also corrects Father Ronan in certain minor details. But aside from such variations their theses are the same and their books should be studied together, Edwards' first and then Ronan's, for a fairly complete picture of the initial attempt to impose the doctrines of the reform on the Irish people.

Heretofore the belief has been too general that these attempts never varied in nature or in intensity, that the religious history of Ireland has been much the same from the time of Henry VIII to almost our own day. Dr. Edwards makes it clear that even in Tudor times there were different phases to the great struggle between the Irish people and the English crown. Under Henry VIII the English power extended only to the Pale, to the towns and in a sense to the Anglo-Irish lands. Even here the English had their enemies, or at least had those not entirely in sympathy with the religious policy of the king. Hence it was that Henry hesitated to push his new ideas very far; and the Irish people, particularly certain temporizing bishops, saw that a small amount of conformity would save them from too great annoyance and might even bring the royal favor in its wake. By the time Elizabeth had come to the throne the fear of the English power had so increased in Ireland, that the Irish were eager to placate it. This emboldened Elizabeth to enforce her laws with a vigor greater than that resorted to by Henry VIII or his son Edward VI. The queen's effort to destroy Catholicism failed ultimately, first because of her vacillating policy and secondly because of the foreign character of the new religion imposed upon the Irish by a hostile power. It is not to be understood from this, however, that Dr. Edwards denies the fact of a persecution in Ireland before the accession of James I, nor even minimizes it; what he does do is write intelligently, and from sources, what already has been done but heretofore with little regard for the lights and shadows of what is, nevertheless, a very dark chapter in the history of English-speaking people. Incidentally, Dr. Edwards shows the complete absence of continuity between the pre-Reformation Christian church in Ireland and the Irish Protestant church of the present time.

It is to be regretted, however, that he seems to make the serious mistake of identifying the English people with the Tudor government, a fault especially serious with regard to Elizabeth's reign. The government was in the hands of men, unscrupulous and ambitious, who had come into power chiefly through the weakness of the queen. They represented in no way the English nation and hence their policies cannot be looked upon as expressive of the people's will. It is necessary to make a clear-cut distinction between the official and the popular attitude in England toward the sixteenth-century religious change. Dr. Edwards' interesting epilogue, The Failure of the Established Church: 1603-1691, makes one hope that he will do for the reigns of James I and his successors what he has done so well for the Tudor years. There should be a complete history, done along scientific lines, of the successful fight of the Irish people to preserve their ancient faith.

In addition to a chronological list of the Tudor Irish martyrs, Dr. Edwards provides two maps, a splendid bibliography and a satisfactory index.

JOSEPH B. CODE.

The Catholic University of America.

After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727. Translated and edited by ALFRED BARNABY THOMAS. (University of Oklahoma Press. 1935. Pp. xii, 307. $3.50.)

In a book of documents about New Spain from 1696 to 1727, which, incidentally, reads like a story, Mr. Thomas has begun the task of filling in a gap in our history of the West. Calling attention to the fact that the "Westward Movement" of such men as Clark, Lewis, and Pike was antedated by almost three centuries of Spanish exploration northward from New Mexico into present-day Colorado, Utah, Kansas, and Nebraska, the author confines himself to the thirty-odd years that ended the 17th and began the 18th centuries. These were troublous times for the viceroys and captains-general of New Spain: many of the Indians round Santa Fé had defected; the hostile Utes and Comanches threatened the allied Apache tribes; and the French were advancing further west every year. It was, therefore, both to preserve their frontiers and to defend the friendly Apaches that Vargas, Ulibarri, Hurtado, Valverde, and Villasur during these years led their significant expeditions into the Southwest.

Diaries, letters, mandates, the proceedings of councils of war—such form the bulk of *After Coronado*. The personal experiences and detailed reports of each of the *conquistadores* have been collected and translated by Mr. Thomas with consummate scholarship. Needless to say, they breathe the life of a robust Spain that is no more, a Spain where throne and altar were coupled in perfect wedlock, while soldier and priest competed in serving country and Christendom. No victory was won, as these records will attest, but a cross was raised; no exploit was without its padre; no bold advance but the leader called on "the very serene Queen of the Angels." The whole Southwest—rivers, ranges, canyons—was named after the individuals of the heavenly court.

Students of the American Indian will find here, with a treasury of evidence, the story of how the essential elements of pueblo culture were carried into the areas north of Santa Fé. As a guide to the period, Mr. Thomas has prefaced a brief historical introduction. This book, the ninth of the Civilization of the American Indian Series, is well printed in Granjon.

THURSTON N. DAVIS, S. J.

Woodstock College.

Medieval Francis in Modern America: The Story of Eighty Years, 1855-1935. By ADALBERT CALLAHAN, O. F. M. With a Preface by Michael Williams. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1936. Pp. xv, 494. $4.50.)

During the colonial period Franciscan missionaries played an important rôle in what is now the United States; this is particularly true of the Spanish and French colonies, though we find some English and Scotch Franciscans also in the English colonies. After Independence, individual Franciscans continued to labor in various parts of the growing States, until in the middle of the nineteenth century several European provinces of the order again began to make permanent foundations in this country. The first of these in the East was made at Allegany in 1855, and became the custody of the Immaculate Conception in 1861. A second autonomous foundation in the East was launched in 1876, when the Commissariat of St. Elizabeth of Fulda, Germany, because of the *Kulturkampf,* established its headquarters at Paterson, N. J. In 1887 the commissariat transferred its headquarters back to Germany, and in 1894 it was raised to the rank of a province; while the houses it had founded in America now constituted a dependent commissariat. In 1901, the latter, together with certain friaries of the Custody of the Immaculate Conception, including Allegany, were erected into the Province of the Most Holy Name of Jesus.

In *Medieval Francis in Modern America,* Father Callahan gives an account of the beginnings and the development of the Province of the Most Holy Name. He divides his work into three "Books": Allegany, 1855-1901; Paterson, 1876-1901; the Province of the Most Holy Name, 1901-1936. It is a welcome and valuable contribution to the history of the Franciscan Order and of the Catholic Church in the United States. Recounted in its pages is the story of St. Bonaventure's College, the *alma mater* of numerous priests, Franciscan and secular; and one encounters such prominent Franciscans as Diomede Cardinal Falconio, Archbishop Paschal Robinson, Archbishop Denis Schuler, the Most Reverend Aloysius Lauer, Father Pamphilus da Magliano, and the martyr-priest, Father Leo Heinrichs, whose cause of beatification has been introduced. Incidentally, the author weaves into his story not a little general history of the order as well as local history of the places of which he speaks. As a result, the book is of interest not only to Franciscans and their friends but to a much wider circle of readers.

A very commendable feature is the genuine Franciscan spirit that pervades the volume throughout. In fact, this work, as Michael Williams points out, is both scientific and popular; and when an author succeeds in presenting not only the cold facts but a vivid picture of the events he narrates, and that with unswerving accuracy, I think he may be called an ideal historian.

A considerable amount of original documents in the form of letters is incorporated into the work, and there are some footnote references; but the scholar would be more satisfied if a brief essay on sources had been appended.

On the functions of the title there may be a difference of opinion, but to the reviewer it seems that the title of the present volume, while attractive, is rather misleading; nor does the sub-title sufficiently indicate the nature and scope of the work.

At any rate, it would have been well to mention, for instance on page 5 or 13, that Franciscan provinces were founded also in other parts of the United States; this would have given the proper perspective to the work and enlightened the uninformed reader who might gain the impression that the Franciscan establishments of which the book treats are the only ones in the United States.

As early as 1844 the Franciscans established themselves at Cincinnati; and in 1859 this beginning became the Custody of St. John the Baptist, which in turn was made a province in 1885. To the Middle West the Franciscans came in 1858; and this foundation was made a commissariat in 1862, and in 1879 a province, the Province of the Sacred Heart, with headquarters first in St. Louis and now in Chicago. Into the latter was incorporated in 1885 the old mission of Santa Barbara, a connecting link between colonial and modern times inasmuch as it had remained without interruption in the hands of the friars. Together with other friaries which were opened on the Pacific Coast, it was formed into a commissariat in 1885 and into an independent province in 1915.

The Custody of the Immaculate Conception in the East became a province, the Italian province, in 1911. The houses of the Polish Franciscans, who first came to Wisconsin in 1887, were definitely formed into a provincial commissariat in 1910, after they had been under the jurisdiction of the minister provincial of the Sacred Heart province for some time. In 1915, therefore, there were five Franciscan provinces and one provincial commissariat in the United States.

Meanwhile new foundations in the form of commissariats dependent on European provinces continued to be established. At the present time there are four such: the Slovenian commissariat of the Holy Cross, Lemont, Ill.; the Croatian commissariat of the Holy Family, Chicago; the Hungarian commissariat of St. John Capistran, New York; and the Slovak commissariat of the Most Holy Redeemer, Valparaiso, Ind. Mention must be made also of the Commissariat of the Holy Land, established in New York in the early nineties, and transferred to Washington, D. C., in 1898-1899; likewise the foundation which the Mexican Province of Saints Francis and James has made at Hebbronville, Texas. As far as the reviewer could ascertain, the Franciscans of the United States in 1935 counted 262 friaries and 2,766 friars.

While we have a general work on these Provinces and Commissariats in *The Friars Minor in the United States* (Franciscan Herald Press, Chicago, 1927), their individual histories still remain to be written. We hope this will be accomplished in the not distant future, and we recommend Father Callahan's volume as a model.

MARION A. HABIG, O. F. M.

The Catholic University of America.

Survey of a Decade. The Third Order Secular of St. Francis in the United States. By Fr. MAXIMUS POPPY, O. F. M., and PAUL R. MARTIN, M. A. With a Preface by Most Rev. Amleto G. Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate. (St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder Book Co. 1935. Pp. xxi, 805, lxi. $3.50.)

Not merely an ephemeral report but a reference work, encyclopedic in content and lasting in value, is this stately volume of almost nine hundred pages. It is divided into five parts and an appendix, each large enough and important enough to form a book by itself.

Part I (pp. 1-126), entitled "A Chronicle of Progress," is an excellent history of the Third Order in the United States, tracing the development of its provincial and national organizations. To many this history will be a revelation. Certainly, the historian of the Catholic Church in the United States can not afford to ignore it. Part II (pp. 126-317) is an account of the second national congress, New York, 1926, the year in which was commemorated the seventh centenary of the death of St. Francis of Assisi—the proceedings of the first national congress, Chicago, 1921, having been published by Hilarion Duerk, O. F. M., ed., *First National Third Order Convention, U. S. A.* (Chicago, 1922). Parts III ("An Interpretative Digest," pp. 317-425) and IV (pp. 425-647) tell the story of the third national congress, San Francisco, 1931. If one can designate the central theme of these three great congresses in a word, we might say that for the first it was "Organization," for the second "Expansion," and for the third "Catholic Action." The minutes of the second and third congresses are presented in a connected story and make interesting reading. Besides, they contain entire addresses, carefully prepared and touching almost every phase of the Third Order's mission, by a splendid array of Catholic leaders from the ranks of both the clergy and laity. Among these speakers we find Archbishops Edward J. Hanna of San Francisco, and Anselm Kenealy of Simla, India; Bishops Amandus Bahlmann of Santarem, Brazil, Joseph Busch of St. Cloud, Minn., Francis C. Kelley of Oklahoma City, John J. Mitty of Salt Lake City, John F. Noll of Fort Wayne, Joseph Rummel of Omaha (now Archbishop of New Orleans); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Francis Hoefliger, Canon of Chur, Switzerland; Rev. Dr. Charles P. Bruehl; Senator Thomas J. Walsh; Hon. Anthony Matre, K. S. G.; Hon. Joseph Scott, K. S. G.; Hon. Patrick J. Haltigan, K. S. S.;

Dr. John A. Armstrong; Brother Leo, F. S. C.; Princess Catherine Radziwill; Miss Catherine McDonough—not to mention the numerous prominent friars, Franciscan, Conventual, and Capuchin, who read authoritative papers on various Tertiary topics.

Part V ("Papers of Reference," pp. 647-797) may be styled a "Source Book" on the Third Order, including as it does the Rule and the National Constitution of the Third Order, fifteen series of sermon outlines on the Third Order and its Rule, a comprehensive bibliography of Franciscan and Tertiary literature in the English language, and exact English translations of a half-dozen papal encyclicals and other pronouncements on the Third Order. The National Directory, following the index, is a revision in compendious form of the first *National Directory of the Third Order of St. Francis,* published by the National Secretary in 1931.

Due no doubt to the fact that different parts of this work were being prepared at the same time, some erroneous reference figures have crept into the index (pp. 799-805); but this defect is made good in a measure by the numerous marginal captions throughout the volume. The national secretary himself (in the *Franciscan News Service,* recently inaugurated) has called attention to the fact that Pope Pius XI's Constitution *Rerum Conditio* of 1927 was unfortunately omitted from the "Papers of Reference"; however, an English translation of this document has appeared in the *Third Order Forum,* April, 1928.

Apart from these flaws, *Survey of a Decade* may almost be pronounced a perfect piece of work. Every Catholic library, every leading layman who seeks to take an active part in the Catholic life of the country, every parish priest should have a copy. As is evident from the recapitulation of the National Directory (p. lix), steady progress has been made in the last decade and a half, but much, very much, still remains to be done if the expectations, entertained by the Holy See in regard to the Third Order, are to be fulfilled. The number of tertiaries in the United States has grown from 75,716 in 1921 to 93,961 in 1935; but, since there are some twenty-five million Catholics in the country, the above total shows that only one out of every 266 Catholics is a tertiary. And still Pope Benedict XV wrote in 1921: "It is desirable . . . that every town and village and hamlet should have many members of the order" (p. 773); and Pope Leo XIII declared in 1879: "We are fully convinced that in our age there is no more efficacious remedy for checking the prevailing evils, no better way and means of having the world and leading it back to a true observance of the Gospel, than the Third Order."

Marion A. Habig, O. F. M.

The Catholic University of America.

The Benedictine Congregation of Saint Scholastica: Its Foundation and Development (1882-1930). By Sister MARY REGINA BASKA, O. S. B. (Washington: The Catholic University of America. 1935. Pp. vii, 154.)

The subjects selected for doctoral dissertations have come in for some vigorous criticism of late. Dr. Canby in his latest book, *Alma Mater,* invites us to look at a contemporary list of these subjects. He asks for an appraisal of what he calls "cross-word puzzle scholarship" in which the searcher after truth is rewarded for "a puzzle over the names of animals in ancient fables." He seeks to evaluate the contribution of the "master of methodology" who "could relate a symphony of Mozart to a comedy of Congreve without knowing what the first was made of, or the second about." Continuous appraisal of doctoral theses is essential and there is a satisfaction when a dissertation appears that fills a very definite need.

Recently there was published at a state capital a pamphlet containing suggested readings on the history of that state. The section which listed material dealing with education omitted all references to Catholic origins and Catholic progress in the educational field. Protest from local Catholic scholars and educators met the justifiable defense that a quest for such material had met with no success. This leads to the indisputable conclusion that more studies on particular Catholic institutions and on peculiar phases of Catholic endeavor are badly needed. More monographs on the foundations, developments, and contributions of Catholic institutions such as the one here reviewed will furnish conclusive statistical evidence of the important rôle played by the Catholic Church in the social and educational history of all the states.

Sister Mary Regina has told the stories of Benedictine foundations in eighteen states and in Cuba. Every story is a record of typical pioneer living conditions, generously and cheerfully endured. Every school, every hospital, every orphanage is a stone cemented into the foundation building of the state edifice. Let us hope that future Ph. D.'s will add to the number of reliable, documented records which furnish evidence of the influence of the Catholic Church on our basic social institutions: the family, the Church, the community, the school, and the press. Without a knowledge of what the Church has done through her organized hierarchy and through her institutions of religious men and women an understanding of the culture patterns of our civilization will be incomplete.

Sister MARY CELESTE, R. S. M.

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The Lives of the Saints. Originally Compiled by the Rev. Alban Butler. Now Edited, Revised, and Copiously Supplemented by HERBERT THURSTON, S. J., and NORAH LEESON. Vol. V: May. (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd. 1936. Pp. xvi, 384.)

It is needless to remind readers that the twelve volumes planned for this great work have not been appearing in the chronological sequence of the months to which they are respectively dedicated. Although the present volume is issued in 1936, the series, which has been running for some six years, is now near completion. The prefaces to the various volumes have indicated the truly immense labors involved. These labors comprised not merely a corrective revision of the original, but often a complete re-writing of it, as well as the construction of a large number of supplementary lives. The present volume, for instance, deals with 258 independent lives instead of the 137 entries in Butler's May volume. Much time was saved by assigning the editorship to Norah Leeson and Donald Attwater separately for the volumes, which thus appear with either of these two names—the present volume bearing only the name of Miss Leeson. Meanwhile, however, the general supervisorship was undertaken by Father Thurston, who added to each life most helpful bibliographical notes together with occasional comments which were sometimes of a laudatory and often of a warning character but always both pertinent and scholarly. Some illustrations of these characteristics may be tolerated here.

Thus we find (p. 51) a note on St. Monica which refers to three lives of the Saint in English ("not to speak of those in French, German, and Italian") and especially commends the work of Mgr. Bougaud (Eng. trans., 3rd ed., 1896). Again: "It must be confessed that little or no trace can be found of a cultus of St. Monica before the translation of her remains from Ostia to Rome, which is alleged to have taken place in 1430, under the pontificate of Pope Martin V. Her body thus translated is believed to rest in the church of S. Agostino." The words "alleged" and "believed" probably do not suggest a direct suspicion of error, but are nevertheless cautions against a too ready acceptance so far as evidence is concerned.

A similarly careful note is found on p. 57: "The account of this Beato printed in the *Acta Sanctorum,* May, vol. i, depends mainly upon a document, attested by a notary public of the Celli family, which was forwarded to the Bollandists by Father H. Torelli, the historiographer of the Hermits of St. Augustine. It must be confessed that there are suspicious features about this notarial instrument, but there can be no doubt that the cultus of the Bd. Gregory, alleged to have been signalised by many miraculous cures, was formally confirmed by Pope Gregory XIV in 1769."

The bibliographical note on p. 69 (St. Pius V) is quite lengthy. It gives praise: "A particularly valuable article by Père Van Ortroy, which includes the earliest known sketch of the life of St. Pius, will be found in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. xxxiii (1914), pp. 187-215. There is an excellent biography by G. Grente (1914) in the series 'Les Saints,' and a booklet in English by C. M. Anthony (1911)." But it also warns: "It is curious to notice that in the bibliography appended to the account of St. Pius V in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* the first work mentioned is the Life by Joseph Mendham (1832). This is, in fact, a bitter indictment of the Pontiff himself, and of the Catholic Church, in the course of which we read, for example, that the Little Office of our Blessed Lady sanctioned by the Pope 'is as disgusting a concentration of blasphemy and idolatry as deforms any part of the papal services,' and in which complaint is also made of 'the brutish bigotry and sanguinary intolerance of this pontiff'." What I have quoted is only about one-half of the bibliographical note of Fr. Thurston.

In the present edition of Butler's *Lives* we have accordingly a fine illustration of scholarly, painstaking and, withal, highly interesting history in its biographical form.

H. T. HENRY.

The Catholic University of America.

The Origins of Jansenism. By NIGEL ABERCROMBIE, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon.), Lecturer in French, Magdalen College, Oxford. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1936. Pp. xii, 341. $5.00.)

"The purpose of this work is to investigate the ancestry and relationships of the theological system expounded in the *Augustinus* of Cornelius Jansen, and to trace the history of the controversy which arose about that system in France in the seventeenth century. The former investigation must of necessity open with a study of the doctrine of S. Augustine, and conclude with an analysis of Jansen's treatise. The historical part of the inquiry must begin with the career of Saint-Cyran, and may reasonably end with the destruction of Port-Royal." These words, taken from the Introduction, explain fully the scope and extent of the present investigation. The work is divided into two nearly equal parts, the first mainly theological, the second mainly historical. The first part deals with the vexing problems of Divine Grace and Predestination from a historical point of view. It is in reality a study belonging to the history of dogma. The author, basing himself almost entirely on primary sources, passes in review in so many distinct sections: Augustine and the Pelagians (pp. 3-47), the Semi-Pelagians (48-51), Predestinarianism (52-60), St. Thomas Aquinas (61-86), Baius (87-92), the Jesuits or Molinism (93-117), the

Dominicans or Thomism (118-124). This part closes with a detailed analysis of Jansenius' famous work *Augustinus* (125-158).

The historical part opens with a detailed study of the character and works of Saint-Cyran (161-194) who appears to be principally responsible for the rise of the sect of Jansenism. With the publication of *Augustinus* in 1640 and its Paris edition in 1641 opens the age of the first Jansenistic controversies, three phases of which are here told, ending with the so-called Peace of the Church in 1668. The final historical section deals with the history of Jansenism from that date to the destruction of Port-Royal in 1709. Four historical appendices conclude the work; three deal with the condemned Jansenistic propositions; the fourth one gives in full the French text of the famous case of conscience of July 20, 1701. There is a good alphabetical index.

The immense labor and rich contents built up into this work are hardly enough indicated by this brief summary. It goes without saying that the first part of the work is not for superficial readers. Nothing that concerns the questions of grace and free will is for such. But every Catholic theologian, whether he be Thomist or Molinist, would profit by a study of these densely packed 158 pages. The fairness and the Catholic spirit of the author, whether he does or does not belong to the Catholic Church, is evident throughout. Jansenism for him is a sect for whose origin and existence there was no excuse. Any adverse criticism is precluded by his all too modest statement: "I am sensible that there is scarcely a person or an institution mentioned in this book, from S. Augustine to Pierre Nicole, from Scholasticism to the Society of Jesus, but suffers injustice in my treatment, either from lack of information, or from debility of judgment. That these faults arise from an excess of enthusiasm over wisdom may serve as an explanation, if not as an excuse." Among those of his friends whom he thanks for having helped him "in various ways, more than they know" are the Rev. M. C. D'Arcy, S. J., Master of Campion Hall, Oxford, and the Rev. L. Walker, S. J. The book is heartily recommended to the historian, but chiefly to the theologian.

A. Bellwald, S. M.

Marist Seminary, Washington, D. C.

Alexandre Farnèse, Prince de Parme, gouverneur général des Pays-Bas (1545-1592). Léon van der Essen. Vol. IV. (Brussels: Nouvelle Société d'Editions. 1935. Pp. xiv, 148.)

Those who have followed with pleasure the first three volumes of this scholarly and valuable study of Alexander Farnese (Catholic Historical Review) will be equally delighted with this fourth volume which deals with the siege of Antwerp 1584-85. As this marks the culmination of his military career and success, a whole volume is devoted to it. We are promised a fifth to conclude the story. With the fall of this important city, the division of the Low Countries into Catholic Belgium and Calvinist Holland was definitely assured. Although another set of circumstances was to secure an independent existence for Belgium, the historical date of August 17, 1585, none the less marks its birthday and to Farnese far more than to Philip the Good of Burgundy may credit be given. For it was his policy and political wisdom even more than his military skill which accomplished this significant event in the history of Europe.

Mindful of his aim to picture a living Farnese through the media of his active life, M. van der Essen details the exciting events of the siege with an attentive art that causes the reader to work and plan with Farnese as if present at his councils, to share his labors and anxieties to save not merely the glory and reputation of Spanish valor but to secure honor for the Belgians and a point of advantage for Catholic civilization in this northern outpost of Europe. Well may the modern Belgians draw inspiration for their destiny in the study of this lonely man of such high courage, such self-less control, such wise grasp of essentials, of such fine courtesy and patience. Well may also our peace enthusiasts study with practical profit Farnese's handling of the problem of peace which the Low Countries then presented. All the elements of the modern problem were there concentrated in narrow focus: the clash of commercial and cultural interests, the naïve demands of commerce, the presence of conflicting and contradictory theories of life, the issue of war as sanction and defense. The clear mind of Farnese steered his policy to the possible and the just in all this so as to win the praise of even Motley, so little disposed to appreciate his major objectives.

The statesman will find valuable the story of the negotiations for the capitulation of Antwerp which as M. van der Essen points out, and proves, needed sadly to be rewritten. From his reasoned and balanced digest of the sources so widely and carefully studied, the main figures stand out in their psychological truth, not less favorable to Marnix de Sainte-Aldegonde than to Farnese. One of the merits of this volume is the sober and yet lively estimate of this product of Calvinism whose unhappy fate it was to surrender the city and to receive the condemnation of those who lacked his power to acknowledge the logic of facts.

Students of military affairs, however, will find most to interest them. The famous siege of Antwerp has been often and well told, for it is one of the great sieges of history and never loses its fascination; but nowhere I venture to say, not even in contemporary chronicles, with such living detail and economy of effect. The story of the construction of the Farnese bridge, the infernal machine of Giambelli, the chance, if chance be the correct word to use, whereby the defenders of Antwerp lost the opportunity Giambelli gave them, and the heroism of the decisive battle of Kouwensteyn hold the reader spell-bound, and no less the scholar for this reconstruction of past events. Those who practise in the field of historical writing will feel that to M. van der Essen may be applied the inscription which so pleased Farnese on his entrance into the city, *Fortitudo et temperantia.*

M. R. MADDEN.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Hitler et Rosenberg ou le Vrai Visage du National-Socialism. Anonymous. (Paris: La Bonne Presse. 1936. Pp. 161.)

This book is by an anonymous but apparently Catholic writer and bears the *Imprimatur* of the Vicar General V. Dupin of Paris. It describes in detail the undoubted efforts of many Nazi elements of present-day Germany to weaken and ridicule Christian faith and practice, especially the attempts to malign the Catholic Church. It presents the familiar Nazi ideology or rather the views of a few prominent members of the Nazi Party on religion and Christianity.

The work, it seems, is fairly reliable, though perhaps somewhat pessimistic on present and future outlook. The content briefly given is as follows: A letter (already known in the U. S.) of an anonymous German student of Catholic theology gives a glimpse of a short course of instruction which he followed in Nazi philosophy. The student objected to what he heard but was not coerced to stay but permitted to leave the lecture-room. The director of the course was a Catholic, a former member of a Catholic student fraternity! These cultural Nazi training courses or camps are a kind of novitiate for the future leaders in Nazi thought. Naturally the lectures emphasize the great Nazi goal, national unity at the expense of Christian institutional and confessional churches which have separated Germany so long and so woefully into two camps. According to a German Catholic participant talking to this reviewer three weeks ago, there were (contrary to p. 19) no obstacles placed in the way of Catholics wishing to hear mass on Sunday; tactful regard, on the contrary, was shown for the sensibilities of Catholics present. The book itself admits (p. 23) that in these courses there is rarely a direct attack on Christian teachings; but of course there are often enough adroit innuendos made by leaders to hurt and affect a soul not firm in the faith. That happens, however, in other countries too.

There follows a long account of Nazi philosophy, especially that of the violently anti-Christian friend of Hitler, Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, and his book, *The Myth of the 20th Century.* Rosenberg is supposed to have lost much of his influence at the present time, and the "German Christian" movement has collapsed according to the critical observer, Dr. Edmund Turner, former Protestant pastor of the American Church in Berlin. Dr. Turner just returned from a tour of investigation he made in Germany (*Washington Post,* August 27, 1936). The French book informs us that Hitler, Rosenberg, and other Nazi leaders want to liberate Germany from "Roman" Christianity and replace it with "German" Christianity, since the traditional Christian doctrine is alleged to be a myth, a foreign Asiatic and French importation, inimical to German personality and character, hostile to German national and race interests, pagan in origin and concept.

We are introduced also to the ideas and writings of other Nazi authors like Reventlow, Hauer, Bergmann, Sorensen, Kern, and H. E. Schroeder. We get acquainted with their queer notions of Christianity and Church history: Christianity past and present brought only misery and destruction to Germany; political France and Rome as enemies of Germany identified themselves with the Catholic Church; it is necessary at the present time in Germany to substitute real "German" mystical sentiment, German feasts and ceremonies for outworn and hostile Christian ideas; valuable is hero-worship and "the voice of the German ancestors" in old legends; saintly and chaste were the old Teutonic Goths and Vandals and false and cowardly is the Christian outlook on life! We read furthermore of the Nazi Youth Movement and its de-Christianization. We learn of the difficulties in the summer of 1935 of the courageous and heroic bishop of Muenster in Westphalia, Count von Galen, and the attitude of the Catholic masses who are divided into three groups: a) those watchfully-waiting, hopeful, passive yet not indifferent, b) those rejecting any compromise, c) those more or less approving the situation because inevitable and because of their belief that there *are* points of contact with the Nazi ideals after all since they promote law and order, fight the Communists, create obedient citizens, foster natural living and virtues, like honor, respect, character, courage, patriotism, motherhood, thrift, and cameraderie; since the Nazis have a definite social program; since some Nazi leaders were anti-Christian before they became Nazis and since the former Catholic Center party disintegrated or at least lacked initiative, integrity and confidence (p. 151). The Catholic public in general remains devoted and loyal to its bishops even in spite and because of police measures and distortion and exploitation of the facts involved in connection with money smuggling charges and alleged wide-spread immoralities among Catholic orders. No doubt the drive of the Nazi authorities against the religious schools and the hidden campaign against Christian concepts is gradually bearing fruit. But there is no reason to despair.

Of a purely partisan Catholic viewpoint, the author of our French book may be inclined to exaggerate in regard to the new Germany. He may be inclined to see only individual facts and to overlook the causes and relationships to other important features, to disregard the general religious unrest in the world and the splendid position of the Catholic Church in Germany from 1920 to 1932, to ignore the glorious history of the Church which had to face bigger difficulties than those of present-day Germany; and he is apt to forget the sturdy, conservative and stubborn loyalty of the average German Catholic toward the Church, who at the same time realizes that there are immense vital national issues at stake, greater surely than the religious and theological controversies which may after all be to him trifling by comparison. Moreover, Hitler has mentioned " Providence " a dozen times in his speech of last year's Party meeting in Nuernberg, and there is a concordat.

The French book in question might also have considered French political history of recent years and its indirect responsibility for the situation in Germany. In this book, the Catholic von Papen is called a " La Fayette du IIIe Empire " with a " profonde ignorance des hommes et du movement auquel il venait de faire vemettre le pouvoir " (p. 154). He and the Center Party gave Hitler " carte blanche "!

The photographs in the book are by the way liable to create wrong impressions. The boyish private inscription on the blade of a knife of a Hitler youth: " Blood and Honor " (p. 79) refers of course only to the " blood " of the proud possessor of the knife and to the " blood and honor " of his ancestors and his people and not to any bloodthirsty and militaristic design on his part to enjoy the slaying of enemies in war. There is a (printing?) mistake on p. 98: " Baldur, von Schirach." The comma is wrong. Baldur is the " Christian " name of " von Schirach." He appears here as two persons, namely Mr. Baldur *and* Mr. von Schirach. " Baldur " was a pagan German god!

P. G. GLEIS.

The Catholic University of America.

The English Bishops and the Reformation 1530-1560—with a table of descent. By C. G. MORTIMER and S. C. BARBER. (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, Ltd. 1936. Pp. viii, 144. 8s. 6d.)

This book will not be well received by those who hold that the bishops of the English establishment have apostolic succession. Indicating which of the sixteenth century bishops accepted or rejected the claims of Elizabeth, it shows the essential discontinuity of the Anglican hierarchy with the ecclesiastical organization of pre-Reform days. Of equal importance are the tables which give the manner in which the English Catholics have been governed since those times, and the descent of the present hierarchy as far back as 1503. Hence this book serves a double purpose: once more and in a most effective way it proves the invalidity of Anglican claims to continuity while at the same time providing students of English history with facts that otherwise would be inaccessible or at least difficult to obtain. Of particular interest to readers on this side of the Atlantic is the relationship between the American and the English hierarchies through the consecrations by such prelates as Bishop Charles Walmesley, O. S. B. (1756-1797), consecrator of Archbishop John Carroll, and Cardinal Franzoni (1775-1856), consecrator of several other members of the American hierarchy, *e. g.,* Bishop Thadeus Amat, C. M., of Monterey, and Bishop Joseph Patrick Lynch, of Dallas, Texas.

There are a few mistakes in the book, such as on page 53 where the authors failed to benefit by Estcourt's correction of d'Emes' statement that Elizabeth introduced into Parliament a bill for the collation of Bishops by the Queen "*without* Rites *or* Ceremonies," which was a misprint for "*with what* Rites *and* Ceremonies." Baltimore's first bishop is given as *Carrol,* which obliges us to regret once more the seeming incapability of correct orthography on the part of many European writers when it comes to American names and places. There is a table of contents, a useful bibliography, but no index.

JOSEPH B. CODE.

The Catholic University of America.

The Encyclopedia of Canada. Vol. I: *Aaltanash-Cartiervilee*; Vol. II: *Cartography-Fyshe*; Vol. III: *Gabarus-Laurierville.* Edited by W. S. WALLACE. (Toronto: Uinversity Associates of Canada, Murray Printing Company. 1936. Pp. xvi, 398; vi, 411; vi, 396.)

This is the second attempt to compile an encyclopedia of Canada: an earlier attempt was made more than a third of a century ago when Mr. J. Castell Hopkins published *Canada: An Encyclopedia of the Country* (6 vols.; Toronto, 1899-1900). This, now out of date is not an encyclopedia in the modern sense of the term, being a congeries of special articles that are not alphabetically arranged.

The work under review covers a larger field, and its scope includes geography, social science, natural science, literature, religion, education, art, history, law, biography, and bibliography. The choice of subjects is both comprehensive and discriminating, and from a close examination of the articles it is evident that a high degree of accuracy is characteristic of them all. The articles are apparently proportioned to their importance. Some readers would possibly desire for a more detailed treatment of special themes; but this doubtless would increase the size of the publication, and of course entail greater expense to the purchaser.

Though the volumes examined are fairly complete, I believe, however, that there are omissions; for example, there is no reference to Nicholas Aubry or to Brasseur de Bourbourg, both of whom occupy an important place in the religious history of Canada. There are occasional inaccuracies of a minor kind, as for example in the item dealing with Archbishop Howley, of St. John's, Newfoundland. Michael Francis Howley was not born in Ireland. He was a native of St. John's, and was the first native bishop of St. John's.

The *Encyclopedia* meets a real need and will be found invaluable as a work of reference. Personally I have found it most useful in the classroom when lecturing on Canadian history. In format, type, binding, and illustrations the publication leaves nothing to be desired. A feature of the *Encyclopedia of Canada* that should be especially noted is that the articles are not overladen with a bibliography that should be worthless to the serious student; the bibliographies appended are in the judgment of the reviewer quite ample for the ordinary reader.

P. W. Browne.

The Catholic University of America.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The seventeenth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association will be held at Providence, R. I., Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, December 29-31, 1936, under the auspices of His Excellency, the Most Reverend Francis P. Keough, D. D., bishop of Providence, who has graciously accepted the honorary chairmanship of the committee on arrangements. The Right Rev. Monsignor Peter E. Blessing, D. D., is honorary vice-chairman, and the Right Rev. Monsignor Peter A. Foley, D. D., formerly chancellor of the diocese, is chairman of this same committee. The post of secretary has been accepted by the Rev. Adrian T. English, O. P., Ph. D., of Providence College. The meeting will be held concurrently with the sessions of the American Historical Association and of other groups devoted to history and the social sciences.

The speakers for the three days are: Rt. Rev. Msgr. John A. Ryan, S. T. D., Catholic University of America; Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., Ph. D., Loyola University, Chicago; Mary Watters, Ph. D., Arkansas State College, Jonesboro, Arkansas; Olgerd Sherbowitz-Wetzor, Ph. D., Catholic University of America; Kenneth L. Latourette, Ph. D., D. D., Yale University; Rev. Jerome V. Jacobsen, S. J., Loyola University, Chicago; Rev. James Bernard Walker, O. P., Ph. D., Dominican House of Studies, Catholic University of America; and Rev. Michael J. Hynes, Ph. D., D. S. H., J. C. L., Seminary of Our Lady of the Lake, Cleveland, Ohio.

The Most Rev. William Turner, bishop of Buffalo since 1919, died July 10. He was professor at Catholic University, 1906-1919; he edited the *American Ecclesiastical Review*; and he was for some years an associate editor of this REVIEW. His best known work is his *History of Philosophy* (1903).

The Rev. Anselmo Maria Albareda, O. S. B., has been appointed prefect of the Vatican Library.

Dr. John J. O'Connor, formerly of Georgetown University, has been appointed to the department of history in St. John's University, Brooklyn. Dr. Edward P. Lilly, author of the *Colonial Agents of New York and New Jersey,* has been added to the history faculty of Loyola University, Chicago.

The American Council of Learned Societies is able to offer a limited number of small grants, ordinarily not exceeding $300, to individual scholars to assist them in carrying on definite projects of research, already commenced, in the humanistic sciences: philosophy, philology, literature and linguistics, art and musicology, archaeology, and cultural and intellectual history. Applicants must possess the doctorate or its equivalent, must be citizens or permanent residents of the United States or Canada, and must be in personal need of the assistance for which they apply and unable to secure it from other sources. For further information and for application form (which must be filed before Jan. 15), address the Secretary for Fellowships and Grants, American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

With the publication by The H. W. Wilson Company (950-972 University Avenue, New York City) of the sixth year (1931) of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences* (pp. 529), the annual series of volumes from 1926 to 1933 inclusive is now completed. Some changes in the method used in previous volumes have been adopted. Chief among these is the omission of the "List of Periodicals" which will be published separately at a later date. In general the contents of the volume for 1931 follows that used for the other years—auxiliary sciences, general works (including historical bibliography, methodology, teaching of history, history of civilization and religious history), pre-history, the ancient East, Greek and Roman history, Byzantine history (after Justinian), medieval and modern history, modern religious history, cultural history, modern economic and social history, modern legal and constitutional history, international relations, Asia, Africa and America (up to the period of colonization). There are over one hundred and twenty-five items on the Catholic Church. Full indexes are given and there is a geographical index which serves to find the bibliographical items with ease. In all there are 6235 references to the rich historical output of the year 1931.

Philosophy and History, edited by Raymond Klibansky and H. J. Paton, contains 21 essays written in honor of Dr. Ernst Cassirer on the occasion of that philosopher's 65th birthday.

Kegan Paul has published the late Henri Pirenne's *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe.*

Bloud et Gay announce Vol. III of *L'histoire de l'Église*, to be published in 24 volumes under the direction of Augustin Fliche and Victor Martin. Its title is *De la paix constantinienne à la mort de Théodose*; and its authors Pierre de Labriolle, G. Bardy, and J. R. Palanque. On the list of the same firm is *Les martyrs noirs de l'Ouganda,* by Marie André, to mark the fifth centenary of the persecutions. A volume under the same title has been written by R. P. Gillet, O. P. (Editions Spes).

L'anarchie franque et la monarchie Musulmane is the title of Tome III of René Grousset's *Histoire des Croisades* (Plon).

A recent addition to *Études de Théologie historique*, published by Gabriel Beauchesne under the direction of the professors of theology at the Institut Catholique de Paris, is *Recherches sur Saint Lucien d'Antioche et son école*, by Canon Gustave Bardy.

Tome IV of *Histoire du Christianisme* is *La Renaissance et la Réforme*, by Paul Fargues (Fischbacher). Fasc. XI of Dom Charles Poulet's *Histoire du Christianisme* appears under the title, *Guelfes Gibbons et Croisés: l'esprit de réforme aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles; l'Église au temps de Philippe le Bel* (Gabriel Beauchesne).

Macmillan's autumn list promises *Herod: a Biography,* by Jacob S. Minkin; *Henrietta Maria* (who married Charles I of England), by Carola Oman; the *Renaissance,* by F. Funck-Bretano; *Old Historic Churches of America: Their Romantic History and Their Traditions,* by Edward F. Rines; and *New Light on Hebrew Origins, by* J. Garrow Duncan.

Included in the fall list of Longmans, Green and Co. are the following titles not heretofore mentioned: *Life of Jesus,* by François Mauriac; *Catherine Tekakwitha,* by Daniel Sargent; and the *Odyssey of Francis Xavier,* by Theodore Maynard.

The leading studies in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu,* July-December, are: "P. Vitus Scheffer [1648-1712] und seine Academia Amoris," by Professor Hermann Hoffman; and "La Compañía de Jésus suprimida en España hace un siglo," by Lesmes Frías, S. J.

Valiant Women: Mother Mary of the Passion and the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary, by Georges Goyau, has been translated by the Rev. George Telford (Sheed and Ward).

The July number of *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* presents the following studies: "Nicée-Constantinople: les premiers symboles de foi," by J. Lebon; "Pour l'histoire du symbole *Quicumque*," by P. Schepens; "L'Immaculée Conception dans la théologie de l'Angleterre médiévale," by A. W. Burridge; and "La nomination du maréchal d'Estrées à l'ambassade de Rome en 1636," by A. Leman. The subjects of the notes are: "Un essai américain de catalogue sommaire de tous les manuscrits," by Auguste Pelzer; and "Trois siècles retracés par les membres de la famille de Spoelberch à Louvain (1563-1873)," by Paul Verhaegen.

Myself a Goddess is a new biography of Isabella of Spain by Alma Wittlin (Nicholson and Watson).

The life of *Ignatius Loyola*, a contribution to the Science and Culture Series, is written by Robert Harvey, a Protestant minister of Winnipeg (Bruce Publishing Co.).

Payot announces *Érasme,* by L. Gautier Vignal.

Augustin McNally, New York, has completed an *Historical Guide to St. Peter's at Rome,* which includes an historical preface and a biography of Pope Julius II.

The following studies of the Reformation in Switzerland have recently appeared: *Die Reformation in Basel,* pt. I: *Die Vorbereitungsjahre, 1525-1528,* by Paul Roth (Basle, Helbing and Lichtenhahn); and *Les origines de la Réforme à Genève,* by Henri Naef (Geneva, Jullien). Vol. I of *Die Reformation in Nürnberg,* by Adolf Engelhardt, appears as vol. XXIII of *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg.*

Evelyn Waugh's *Life of Blessed Edmund Campion* has been awarded this year's Hawthornden Prize.

Jacques d'Ars has translated *Matt Talbot, le saint au chantier,* from the English of Sir Joseph A. Glynn (Desclée de Brouwer).

Mother Mary Arsenius of Foxford, who was the moving spirit in the foundation of the Providence Woolen Mills at Foxford in Mayo, was written by the Rev. Denis Gildea to promote her claims to beatification (Burns Oates).

Messrs. Burnes Oates and Washbourne (43-45 Newgate Street, London, E. C. 1) have recently issued a complete list of all the articles published between May 1, 1836, and April 1, 1936, in the *Dublin Review.*

Ernest Martin is the author of *Les exilés Acadiens en France au XVIII^e^ siècle et leur établissement en Poitou* (Hachette).

A volume of interest to American readers will be *Monseigneur de Laubérivière (1711-1740),* bishop of Quebec, by Comte de Quinsonas (Libraire Orientale et Américaine).

In her *Catholic Part in the Making of America: 1565-1850* (series one, Philadelphia, Pa., The Dolphin Press, pp. 105, 50 cents, 1936), Miss Elizabeth S. Kite has inaugurated an attractive method for interesting the pupils of our Catholic schools in the part of their Faith has had in the rise and progress of the United States. The little volume contains short readings about the events of these years (1565-1850), one for each week of the year. The object of the series, as Dr. Kite tells us, "is to familiarize pupils with leading personalities and events of Catholic import that lie in the background of the making of America." Based upon manuscript and published sources, the skilled authoress has given us a little book which will undoubtedly "stimulate students to undertake for themselves original research along historical lines"—an ideal which, as Archivist of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, Dr. Kite has never failed to emphasize in all her writings. The booklet should be generously distributed to all the students of our Catholic secondary schools and colleges.

The Most Rev. John T. McNicholas, archbishop of Cincinnati, has printed for private distribution, *Three American Bishops: Archbishop Dowling, Bishop Shahan, Bishop Walsh of Maryknoll*, being the sermons preached by the Archbishop at the funerals of these prelates " who would have been the glory of the hierarchy of any country, of any age " (introductory note). These tributes are printed " in the hope that competent historians will soon begin to gather material for the story of their lives, which cannot fail to exert a potent influence on the present and succeeding generations."

The general topic of the 18th annual meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference, held at Santa Barbara, Calif., during the week of Aug. 13, was the Franciscan History of North America. It was decided to inaugurate an historical institute at St. Bonaventure's College, Allegany, N. Y., for the purpose of correlating Franciscan archives throughout the United States and to publish the story of Franciscan effort in the colonial and national periods of the country.

The *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* for June prints two dissertations prepared at Catholic University for the master's degree: James A. McMaster, a Pioneer Catholic Journalist, by Sister Mary Canisius Minahan, C. S. C.; and the Democratic Party in Pennsylvania from 1856 to 1865, by Sister Francis Loretto Conlin, S. S. J.

Mid-America for July prints some of the papers read at the formal inauguration of the Institute of Jesuit History, June 11 (REVIEW, XXII, 226). Father Jerome V. Jacobsen contributes the introductory article on the Jesuit Institute of Loyola University; W. Eugene Shiels writes on the Institute of Jesuit History, Its Method and Scope; Edward A. Fitzpatrick issues a Challenge to the Institute; and Father Gilbert J. Garraghan surveys a Jesuit Westward Movement. There is, besides, an article on a Jesuit Circuit Rider, by Sr. Mary Paul Fitzgerald.

The Annual Province Review edition of the Milwaukee *Catholic Herald-Citizen*, September 5 (pp. 64), is replete with historical accounts of the part played by the Church in the founding and developing of Wisconsin. The cover is an illustrated map of Catholic Pioneer Days in Wisconsin and Upper Michigan.

A collection of Early Views of Chicago and Chicago Churches, in the *Bulletin of the Chicago Historical Society* for June, gives a picture and description of a " Catholic Church, corner of Wabash Ave. and Madison St., Rt. Rev. Bishop Quarter and Rev. Mr. Oustlangberg, pastors."

Beginning with its issue of July 30, the *Southern Messenger* presents a series of articles on the Catholic Church in Texas.

The Rev. Edward J. Dworaczyk, pastor of the Immaculate Conception parish at Panna Maria, Texas, has compiled the story of the *First Polish Colonies of America in Texas* (pp. 200, Louis E. Barber Co., San Antonio).

The Division of Intellectual Cooperation of the Pan American Union has issued in mimeographed form a *Directory of Learned Societies, Research Institutes and Other Cultured Bodies,* No. 1: Arts and Letters (pp. 17). The arrangement is alphabetical under each country of the Union; the year of the foundation of each society is given and its publications listed. In the same field is the *Handbook of Latin American Studies,* a proposed annual sponsored by a committee representing the respective fields of anthropology, archaeology, economics, geography, history, laws, and literature.

Documents. La corrispondenza di Carlo Bascapè a S. Carlo Borromeo nella collezione della Biblioteca Ambrosiana, contributed by Guglielmo Guariglia (*Aevum,* April-Sept.); Leben und Briefe Antonio Criminalis des Erstlingsmärtyrers der Gesellschaft Jesu, Georg Schurhammer, S. J. (*Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu,* July-December); La Province d'Aquitaine de la Compagnie de Jésus d'après son plus ancien catalogue (1566), Fernández Zapico, S. J. (*ibid.*); Monastic Letter of Fraternity to Eleanor of Aquitaine (1158-1165), C. R. Cheney (*English Historical Review,* July); Selections from the Diary and Gazette of Father Pierre Potier, S. J. (1708-1781), E. R. Ott (*Mid-America,* July); Letters to Bishop Henni (continued), P. L. Johnson (*Salesianum,* July); Reminiscences of a Kenosha [Wis.] Pioneer (concluded), in *Central-Blatt and Social Justice,* July-August.

Anniversaries. 25th: Founding of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America (Maryknoll Society); St. Augustin's, Newport, R. I. (*Providence Visitor,* Aug. 20); parish of Mary, Star of the Sea, Grand Island (*Catholic Union and Times,* June 25); St. Paul's, Weirton, W. Va.; St. Anthony's, Pueblo, Colo.; *Italia,* one of the four Catholic dailies of Italy. *50th:* St. John's, Clove, N. Y.; St. Joseph's, Mt. Pleasant, Pa. (*Pittsburgh Catholic,* Aug. 27); St. Mary's, Cumberland, Wis.; St. Benedict's, Clyde, Mo.; the first Catholic church in the Transvaal, at Barberton; *75th:* St. Paul's, Reading, Pa. (*Catholic Standard and Times,* Sept. 4); St. Rose of Lima, Lima, Wis.; St. Paul's, Wrightstown, Wis.; St. Peter's, Ashton, Wis. (*Catholic Herald Citizen,* June 27); *100th:* St. John the Baptist, Tonawanda, N. Y. (*Catholic News,* July 4; *Catholic Union and Times,* June 25, July 9); St. Jean Baptiste, L'Original, Ont.; *150th:* St. Peter's, Birmingham, Eng.; *200th:* parish of the Visitation, Sault-au-Recollet, Canada; *800th:* Abbey of Notre Dame de Langonnet, Brittany.

BRIEF NOTICES

Adam, Karl, *The Spirit of Catholicism.* Revised edition. Translated by Dom Justin McCann, O. S. B. (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1935, pp. xi, 272, $1.50.) This admirable presentation and exposition of the central truths of Catholicism appeared first in 1928. The author is alert to the needs of this modern age and he does not hedge or mince his statements. Fearlessly he anticipates every modern opponent and meets him with charity and directness. This new edition needs no lengthy review. If one compares it carefully with the first edition which appeared in English, one sees signs in the format of this volume of the influence of a craftsmanship that is distinctly American. The contents are not changed but the make-up of the volume is greatly improved. The print is larger. This adds about 35 pages to the volume, but it adds far more to its attractiveness. Catholics and non-Catholics of the educated class will find this volume stimulating. (L. L. McVay.)

American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings.* Vol. 45, n. s., Pt. 1. (Worcester, Mass., the Society, 1935, pp. 142.) The semi-annual meeting of April 17, 1935, is recorded; and there are studies of the Underground Railroad in Massachusetts, by Wilbur H. Siebert, and of Gombo, the Creole Dialect of Louisiana, with bibliography, by Edward L. Tinker.

Andrews, Charles M., Farnam Professor of American History Emeritus, Yale University, *The Colonial Period of American History.* Vol. I: *The Settlements.* (New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. xiv, 551.) Students of American colonial history have long been waiting for this *magnum opus* of the outstanding authority in the field. For years they have been using his special studies, his monographs, his printed lectures, and his rich contributions to the historical journals. Now they are to have a complete study giving the results of his years of research and teaching. How many volumes there are to be and what their organization is not indicated in this initial volume. But the treatment, we are told (preface, xi), will not depart from the author's proper and customary interpretation of the subject: the approach is from the English end, " from the land whence the colonists came and of which they were always legally a part "; and all of England's colonial possessions in the West are included in the inquiry, since the British colonial system made no distinction between the continental thirteen colonies which later declared their independence and the often more important plantations of the West Indies. " Interesting and important as the colonies are in their individual traits and peculiarities and in their relation to the later history of the United States, their standing as colonies and not as independent states is the fact of greatest significance to the scholar—the key to the whole colonial situation." This outlook and his insistence upon the study of British administrative agencies for a competent understanding of the system are the significant and permanent contributions which Professor Andrews has made to the interpretation of the colonial period of our history. All the settlements are not treated in this first volume. There are introductory chapters on the age of discovery, England's commercial activities, factors influencing colonization, and the preliminaries of settlement (particularly at Sagadahoc); then follow six chapters on Virginia (to 1641), two on Bermuda, ten on various aspects of the Pilgrim and Puritan settlements, and one on Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. On this same scale at least two further volumes will be required to dispose of the settlements. The knowledge that one can always rely upon Professor Andrews for correctness of statement leaves the reader free to enjoy the freshness of his treatment, the exhaustive scholarship displayed in text and notes, and his easy, at times eloquent, style. He has in this volume accomplished the very difficult task of so organizing the variety of topics treated, the divergent motives of exploration and settlement, and the changing relationships with the mother country as to give unity, sequence, and balance to the whole. (LEO F. STOCK.)

ARCAYA, PEDRO MANUAL, *Venezuela y su Actual Regimen.* (Washington, D. C., privately printed, 1935, pp. 217.) In his 1926 message the late President Gómez said:

> In contact with nature, and in a position to observe things and people, I felt keenly during my youth the burden of sorrow that weighed upon our nation. The country-side was abandoned, for only a few of us dared to cultivate our estates. The cities were dead, for industry was absent. Our subsoil wealth remained unexploited, and the towns in the interior were isolated from each other. Later, during the period of fighting and civil war, I heard the lamentations and imprecations of the men who were falling from power, and I recalled the profound truth that the Holy Book of our religion teaches us when it says that human blood spilled on the earth cries out to Heaven. I vowed that if I were ever in a position to exercise a decisive influence on the destiny of our country, I would put an end to the political agitations and to the parties and clubs that only sowed seeds of hatred and impelled men to fly at one another's throats in fratricidal strife. Providence heard my vow, and today we can say with just satisfaction that for many long years the soil of Venezuela has not been soaked in blood. No cry of accusation arises against us from our native land.

The present work, written by one who has held under General Gómez the posts of Minister of the Interior and Minister to the United States, is largely a commentary on those words, supported by personal recollections, statistics, etc., tending to show that the rule of Gómez was just, humane and, to Venezuela, highly beneficial. The reader, whether or not he accepts the argumentation as convincing and is willing to behold in Gómez, as does the author, another Scipio Africanus, will at least agree that the book is one which must be taken into account, for it presents, though not throughout with consummate literary artistry, what can be advanced in favour of the subject. That he effected improvements is undeniable; that the price paid for them was too high is debatable. The North American student of Hispanic American history knows well that such words as "liberty," "progress," "treason," "revolution," convey to the Latin American ear overtones and connotations somewhat different from those they produce in our part of the world, that conditions welcomed in one country might be deemed intolerable in another, and that he must be cautious, circumspect, assured of his facts and possessed of "simpatia" when endeavouring to estimate occurrences in a land like Venezuela, under a leader upon whom the French Republic saw fit to confer the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour. At least one generation will have to pass away before an approach to a final judgment will be possible, and in the book here being considered we have some of the materials for forming that judgment. (EDWIN RYAN.)

ARRAGON, R. F., *The Transition from the Ancient to the Medieval World.* (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1936, pp. x, 134.) The Berkshire Studies in European History, to which this volume belongs, are intended to furnish reading, "not too technical nor too elementary," for college students following courses in European history. The authors give an interpretative discussion rather than a merely elementary presentation of facts. The title of the present volume reflects the contents rather accurately. Like the other studies it is divided into three parts: the fall of Rome; economic and social change; the cultural heritage of the Roman Empire. It concludes with a short bibliographical note and an index. Since another volume in the series deals with the Church in the Roman Empire, this study for the most part ignores church history. The short, crisp sentences of the author are so charged with condensed information that the college student may have difficulty in assimilating it. The book will be a challenge to teachers and it might well serve as a framework around which they may expand their lectures. There are very few slips. Visigothic law was written down by King Eurie before the *Breviarium Alaricianum* was issued (p. 39). The lack of adequate harness and horseshoes in Roman times might have been mentioned (p. 48). In connection with the decline of slavery the influence of the Church is quite omitted (p. 51 ff.). (A. K. ZIEGLER.)

ARRIGHINI, P. A., *I Dodici.* (Torino-Roma, Casa Ed. Marietti, 1935, pp. vii, 666, lire 20.) The author tells us in his preface that during his busy preaching career he had often wished for a work like this, and that having consulted in vain all book catalogues at hand and searched through the lists and the shelves of several important public and private libraries of Italy, he at last decided to write one himself. *I Dodici* contains the biographies of the Twelve Apostles, arranged according to the order which is indicated in the *Acts*—with a thirteenth paper added as appendix for a sketch of St. Paul's life. Thus the collection opens with the biography of St. Peter and closes with that of St. Paul. With this book, Father Arrighini, who is a well known pulpit orator with already some forty substantial publications to his name, has made a worthy and timely contribution to modern Italian hagiographical writings. The book is not what one would call a first-hand historical work built up by research into original documents, yet throughout its pages there is enough erudition, exegetic, patristic and historical, to satisfy the most cultured reader. All facts concerning each biography not expressly contained in the revealed sources are presented by Father Arrighini under the assuring authority of the most competent writers, ancient as well as modern. The book appears in an attractive typographical dress and is illustrated by thirteen fine pictures of the Apostles reproduced from the best masterpieces of art. We do not doubt that this volume will receive among cultured readers of Italian the same welcome always accorded Father Arrighini's publications. (C. I. C.)

Baker, Newton D., Carlton J. H. Hayes, and Roger William Straus, (Eds.), *The American Way*. (New York, Willett Clark and Co., 1936, pp. ix, 165, $1.25.) This book is the result of the meetings of the Institute of Human Relations which were held last autumn at Williamstown. The editors are the three co-chairmen of the meetings, representing the Protestant bodies interested, the Catholic and the Jewish members. It is an entry into a twofold study: "orderly and civilized social living in a democracy"; and through internal harmony, extension of that orderly living to relations with the rest of the world. In that procedure emphasis was placed upon what we, as Americans, can learn from other countries, each beset by its own social or religious, political or economic problems in differing ways and degrees. That is not always a method of approach which can be followed without heat. We (as Americans or as Catholics) are not less intolerant than others of the suggestion that we can learn anything from what is happening elsewhere. As a matter of fact, there is a great deal that American democracy can learn by comparison of our original concept of its meaning with the present day European meaning of the word—and the results of that change of meaning in Germany, Italy, Spain, France or Mexico. Protestants who attempt to analyze movements in Europe or on this continent, which are apparently anti-Catholic, may find that they are oftener racial than religious—perhaps more truly economic than either. Jews might find in these discussions the reasons for their peculiar difficulties in various countries. Analytical Catholics (and it is excellent to study Catholicism analytically) might find an answer to their puzzled question: "How can persecution of Catholicism exist in a Catholic country?" "The American Way" to approach such studies is a good way. It is especially important that the three bearers of Divine Revelation: Jews, Catholics, and Protestants, should join together in such a study, at the moment when new state forms are arising everywhere based upon the denial of the rights of religion and the rights of man, in the Catholic sense of man, as a "person" and as an "individual." (William Franklin Sands.)

Beard, Charles A., *The Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1935, pp. 325, $2.) The controversies involving the constitutionality of New Deal legislation make this reprint very timely. The author has demonstrated the predominance of economic motives in the framing of the Constitution. Among the interested parties were the officers of the Revolutionary Army bent on making their land warrants valuable as a strong central government would rid the Appalachians of Indians. Hamilton and Franklin were concerned with the credit of the republic partly because both were substantial holders of government debt, several years in arrears in interest, and quoted at 16 per cent of par. They rallied many substantial citizens to the cause of sound government with the proposal that the reformed government should pay the depreciated national debt in full and take over the debts of the several states. The enterprising merchant-traders of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston knew from their experience under the weak Confederation government that only a strong central government could cope with the restrictions placed in the way of American trade. Then as now the propertied minority feared the avarice of the "share-the-wealth" crowd. This group was made up of small farmers and petty tradesmen, both chronically in debt, or in arrears on taxes. They expected the newly-formed government to do something to repair their deficiencies. The stay-law and paper money party were less of a force then than at the present time because the property qualification of the right to vote for the delegates to the Constitutional Convention disenfranchised most of the adult males. Thus, Beard estimates that not more than one-sixth of the adult male population voted for the delegates to the Convention. Chapter six, The Constitution as an Economic Document, well repays reading in the light of the present day discussion of the inflexibility of the Constitution and the cumbersome methods for amending it. The delay imposed on the amending process was no accident, nor was the placing of the determination of the constitutionality of federal laws in the hands of the Supreme Court accidental, or a by-product of the force and genius of John Marshall. Legal verbiage and appeals to general principles proved to be useful disguises for the legalistic mechanics set up to foil mob rule and treasury raids. The most interesting portion of the reprint is the new introduction. It contains a discussion of the reactions in 1913 of barristers and statesmen to the then blasphemous doctrine set up by Beard, *viz.*: the fathers of the Constitution were actuated by other motives than those of utter public interest, that the Constitution was not the reflection of the will of all the people but rather a protection for the interests of the holders of personalty as against small landowners and debtors. Yet none should get the impression that this work belongs to the "debunking" school. The author specifically disavows such an alliance. Nor is he to be classed with the economic determinists. He concludes that economic forces are powerful enough to warrant consideration in tracing the origin of any political institution. (GEORGE K. MCCABE.)

BOWEN, MARJORIE, *Peter Porcupine: A Study of William Cobbett (1762-1835)*. (New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1936, pp. ix, 312, $3.50.) Although a brief bibliography is given in a note at the end, this book is not technically historical. Marjorie Bowen [Mrs. Gabrielle Margaret Vere (Campbell) Long] is satisfied to remark: "any statement that the reader feels inclined to challenge can be checked from the sources given above." The fact that William Cobbett who was unquestionably one of the most influential English journalists and agitators during the early decades of the 19th century wrote at times under the well-chosen pseudonym of Peter Porcupine explains the title. The sub-title reveals that Mrs. Long has attempted to portray a personality. Only enough of the background is added to make the man intelligible. William Cobbett has not succeeded in enlisting his new biographer's sympathy. Nearly always critical her reaction to the vigorous masculinity of her subject borders at times on the hostile. The peasant origin, the loud voice, the uneducated man's exaggerated reverence for grammar, the essential materialism of the prohibitionist, the coward's refuge in the lie, and the man's immmense self-conceit are stressed unobtrusively. The author develops at times her personal views on the questions which engaged and frequently enraged Cobbett. She makes the Irish superior in everything except numbers to the English, dismisses the Middle Ages as superstitious, and develops a facile economic explanation of the American Revolution. That Cobbett was essentially English is well brought out. His hatred of Philadelphians and his sympathy for the Irish were equally manifestations of the Briton in him. Cobbett's life in America is perhaps insufficiently treated. His relation to the English Reformation (he depends entirely on John Lingard) receives due treatment. An interesting note on Sir Moses Montefiore is, the author states, based on information received from the family of the great Jewish leader. There is an index. Finally, it is surprising to find well-known American proper names misspelled in this well-printed and well-written study. (EDWARD A. RYAN, S. J.)

BRYANT, ARTHUR, *The England of Charles II.* (New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1935, pp. xv, 202, $2.00.) In this slender volume the author of the highly praised *King Charles II* gives us seven excellent brief chapters on widely different aspects of the social, economic, and religious affairs of England in the days of the Restoration. Mr. Bryant remarks in his Introduction: "The main source for this book is the as yet unpublished Shakerley MSS., whose transcription has occupied my leisure for the past ten years" (p. vii). But a reading of the book will quickly convince the student that Mr. Bryant's profound knowledge of the literature of this period has herein been far beyond the Shakerley MSS. The notes, which are found at the back of the book, give ample evidence of the author's thorough use of all the leading memoirs, diaries, and correspondence of the age of Charles II. The man of the Restoration is seen in fleeting glimpses in virtually every phase of his life from his drinking habits (pp. 101-105) and sports (pp. 119-131) to his diseases (pp. 91-96) and clothes (pp. 165-169). It is altogether a delightful little volume, and the student of the English society of the 17th century will wish Mr. Bryant had not been so economical with his space. The reviewer noted only one typographical error: on p. 2 in the 4th line from the top one should read "summon" for "summons." The volume contains six well selected illustrations, but unfortunately has no index. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS.)

BURCHFIELD, LAVERNE, *Student's Guide to Materials in Political Science.* (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1935, pp. v, 426, $3.00.) One more handy tool has been given to the research worker by the preparation of this *Guide* under the direction of the Sub-committee on Research of the Committee on Policy of the American Political Science Association. It furnishes a satisfactory introduction to the "more important source materials, finding devices, bibliographies and general reference works" in the entire field of political science. It divides that field into twenty-seven categories based largely upon the usually accepted formalistic conception of the science. As is so often the case in similar works, the relation between political science and religion is totally disregarded. Since an oath (in the courts or in public office) is the basis of all civic surety, it is difficult to understand the complete separation of religious and political ideas that seems to be the hallmark of current political thought. (J. J. M.)

CAMBRIDGE SUMMER SCHOOL OF CATHOLIC STUDIES, *Church and State.* Papers Read at the Summer School of Catholic Studies, Held at Cambridge, July 27th to August 6th, 1935. With a Preface by Father C. Lattey, S. J. (London, Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd., 1936, xiv, 338, 7s. 6d.) The title of this latest volume in the series of Cambridge Summer School for Higher Catholic Studies indicates its timeliness and a glance at its contributors is sufficient evidence of its worth. The Rev. C. Lattey, S. J., the Rev. W. E. Brown, D. D., and Christopher Dawson discuss the relation between the Church and State from the New Testament to the Early Middle Ages; the Rev. Gervase Mathew, O. P., and John Armstrong, from Boniface VIII to the Treaty of Westphalia; the Rev. David Mathew, Douglas Woodruff, and the Rev. Humphrey J. T. Johnson, Cong. Orat., in more recent times; whereas H. Outram Evennett, John Eppstein, the Rev. Alphonsus Bonnar, O. F. M., the Rev. Thomas E. Flynn, F. R. Hoare, and the Rev. Lewis Watt, S. J., each contribute chapters on special aspects of the problem, such as Authority, the Totalitarian State, the Claims of the Church, the Rights of the Family, and Political Parties and Economics. The Rev. C. C. Martindale, S. J., outlines a Catholic program and the Rev. C. Lattey, S. J., gives a pertinent introduction. These papers, each by an expert of the first order, show in yet another way that the Catholic Church is the only sure bulwark against the encroachments of the totalitarian state. The book should be read by those who have every reason to feel anxious for the essential rights of the family and of the individual, not only in Europe but in America as well. It might have been better had the principles been presented first, and then the history; or in other words, the first eight papers should have followed the three chapters by Fathers Bonnar, Flynn, and Watts. It is to be regretted that a work of this kind lacks an index. A selected bibliography at the end of each chapter also would have given it added value. (JOSEPH B. CODE.)

CARDINAL, EDWARD V., C. S. V., Ph. D., *Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio, Legate to the Courts of Henry VIII and Charles V.* (Boston, Chapman and Grimes, 1935, pp. 198, $2.00.) In addition to other sources, Doctor Cardinal used the secret archives of the Vatican and the family archives of the Campeggio family at Bologna to arrive at a just and impartial account of the great diplomat. After the death of his wife in 1509, Campeggio entered the ecclesiastical state and almost immediately began his diplomatic career. His success with the emperor Maximilian earned the red hat for him in 1517. The various and important missions to England and Germany are described in detail. Not all will agree with the author that persuasion rather than forcible means might have won over the Protestant recalcitrants. The divorce case of Henry VIII is ably treated. Campeggio would not be bribed nor bullied. He was accused of favoring both sides. The suggestions of Campeggio were used as the manual of procedure for the Council of Trent. He was named as one of the three papal legates to preside at its opening; but he died, July 18, 1539, in his house at Rome, a present of Henry VIII of England. He was a man of his age. He actually drew up a schedule of reform for Adrian VI, while he himself was guilty of pluralism and nepotism. He was not heroic in the practice of virtue, yet he does not deserve the reproach heaped upon him by such authors as Burnet. Doctor Cardinal commends him especially for his devotion to his work and his obedience to the popes in spite of his physical sufferings. The book is well printed and attractively bound with three interesting illustrations. The reference notes are placed at the end of each chapter. The bibliography and the index are excellent. (M. J. HYNES.)

Il Cardinale Tomaso De Vio Gaetano nel quarto centenario della sua morte. [*Rivista di filosofia neo-scolastica.* Supplemento speciale al Volume XXVII, Marzo, 1935.] (Milan, Società Editrice "Vita e Pensiero," pp. 166.) It has become customary to celebrate the recurring centenaries of great men by presenting special studies of their lives or fresh estimations of their work. Only recently however has this been done with the notable philosophers of comparatively modern times. The Faculty of the University of Milan has already produced a valuable series of this kind; the present work constitutes an important addition to those already offered. The eight monographs of which it is made up form a well rounded-out picture of the many-sided Cardinal. Known chiefly from his commentary on the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas, his many opinions have been a source of unending discussion both in philosophy and theology. If his view had prevailed, a marked difference in the teaching of the Church on the subject of divorce would exist. On some matters he was very literal-minded, and he took the words "except for adultery" to mean that in that particular case a complete divorce was allowed. Reginaldo Fei, in a very interesting study, perhaps the most striking of all in this volume, calls him "the Man of Singular Opinions." He merits that title, for he sought the answer to a multitude of unanswered questions; when he could not find the answer in the ancient authorities, he undertook to answer it himself. To him, the greatest sin was to leave a problem without offering a solution. It is four hundred years since the death of Cajetan; time indeed that tribute should be paid him as a philosopher. But his whole life is worthy of notice; in fact, he was unusual not only in his opinions, but in his speech and deeds and in the very manner of his death. His vast interests and an eager mind resulted in contributions from him in almost every field of thought. Nor were his contributions mere unconsidered hazards; on some questions, notably that of analogy, he made what is probably the final solution. Had he been able to make a thorough revision of his works and shape them into a *summa* of his own, he undoubtedly would have modified much that he has said; perhaps, as the history of thought has evolved since his time, it is better that he did not. (F. A. WALSH.)

CHANLER, Mrs. WINTHROP, *Roman Spring: Memoirs.* (Boston, Little, Brown and Co., 1934, pp. 324, $3.00.) The author of these delightful memoirs is the daughter of Luther Terry, an artist; the half-sister of F. Marion Crawford, the niece of Julia Ward Howe, and through marriage a member of the

Chanler branch of the Astor family. She was reared in Rome where the Catholic churches "seemed so much more real and more alive" than the churches she was obliged to attend, and where she "used to buy rosaries and holy pictures" with her pennies. Pius IX ruled over the Papal States; there are impressions of him, but she was not in Rome to witness its fall. A French nun carried her "through the fog of spiritual uncertainty." Quite unique is the correspondence with her brother Marion on the subject. When she became engaged the Chanler family provided her future husband with anti-Catholic literature "to warn and protect him from the dangers of conversion." There are delightful pen-pictures of Roman society, of Boston, of Washington during the late '80s and gay '90s, and of New York and its "400." Henry Cabot Lodge never missed an opportunity "to snarl and gibe" at religion; the Catholic Church was his favorite "straw man" which "he demolished several times a week, leaving *Mater Ecclesia* quite unscathed." There is an intimate picture of Theodore Roosevelt. Mrs. Chanler visited him shortly before his death. "I seem pretty low now," he said, "but I shall get better. I cannot go without doing something to that old gray skunk in the White House [Wilson]." John La Farge's conversation was "the most brilliant" ever listened to; the Abbé Duchesne was "wholly delectable." The chapter on Henry Adams throws new light on that enigmatic character. The friendship began through the children, and at once "the prickly porcupine moulted his quills into angelic feathers." When *Mont St. Michel and Chartres* was privately printed a noted educator besought Mrs. Chanler to use her influence to secure him a copy, but the author refused, saying "the book was not written for college presidents." It will be news to many to learn that Adams "had an elaborate doll's house behind a sliding panel in his library, always ready for any little girl that might be brought to see him." Gossipy, entertaining, enlightening, written in a charming and picturesque style, this volume is a delight for silent or "out loud" reading. (L. F. STOCK.)

CHAUNCY, Dom MAURICE, *The Passion and Martyrdom of the Holy English Carthusian Fathers.* (London, The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1935, pp. x, 165.) The Latin text of Father Chauncy's last version of the Carthusian martyrdoms is here presented with an English translation in parallel. The latinity gives the author a place among the best writers of Latin in his time. Cicero is a strong influence; nor is the harmony of style impaired by accretions of vocabulary and usage from Sacred Scripture and Christian writers. The narrative displays an ardent zeal for the Carthusian way of life, and also a poignant disappointment at its destruction in England by base tyrants, the grief sometimes mounting to a pitch of bitterness. The English translation is good, with no evidence of bias, though made under the patronage of those whose admiration for the martyrs is pointed more to "the quality of their protest" (p. vii, Foreword), "to the quiet dignity . . . of very gallant Englishmen" (p. 24, Historical Introduction), than to the strong Catholic Faith which inspired and strengthened them to undergo the cruellest of torments rather than deny the unity of Christ's church and the divine authority of Christ's vicar in His kingdom on earth. (Dom BENEDICT BROSNAHAN, O. S. B.)

Chretien, Douglas, *The Battle Book of the O'Donnells.* (Berkeley, California, University of California Press, 1935, pp. 48, $1.25.) This is the story of the conflict that ensued when St. Columcille (better known by his Latin name Columba) made a copy of a book he had borrowed from St. Finnian, his old teacher. It brings about the first action in the annals of the law over a copyright and eventually leads to St. Columcille's banishment. The author, after presenting the story in a very interesting manner, proceeds to determine how much of it is true by separating legend from fact. He concludes with a careful study of the authenticity of the book in question, known as the *Cathach.* Six of the forty-eight pages are devoted to notes. (J. C.)

Commager, Henry Steele (Ed.), New York University, *Documents of American History.* [Crofts American History Series.] (New York, F. S. Crofts and Co., 1934, pp. xxi, 454, $4.00.) A good collection of the fundamental sources of American history is today as necessary for successful teaching as maps or bibliographies. Text-books may be as thorough and as readable as it is possible to make them, the teacher may be inspiring in his presentation of his course, but nothing will make the matter stick so firmly in the mind of the student or give him the necessary contemporary "flavor" as reference to the documents upon which the facts of the text and the explanations of the teacher are based. Professor Commager has compiled the best balanced, most varied collection of such sources yet to appear. The 486 selections run chronologically from the Privileges and Prerogatives Granted to Columbus, April 30, 1492, to the Anti-War Treaty of Non-Aggression and Conciliation, June 15, 1934. The papal bull of demarcation, colonial charters, the Maryland Toleration Act, the Address of Continental Congress to the Inhabitants of Canada, the Virginia Statute of Religious Liberty, the *Quod Apostolici Muneris* of Leo XIII, the decision in the case of the Oregon school law are but a few of the many documents of particular interest to the Catholic student. In every case the source of the selection is given, together with an adequate introduction and a selected bibliography of special works. (L. F. S.)

Cram, Ralph Adams, F. A. I. A., F. R. G. S., Litt. D., *Convictions and Controversies.* (Boston, Marshall Jones Company, 1935, pp. viii, 282.) Dating from 1921, this collection of varied orations, addresses, lectures, and magazine articles contains convictions which "have remained the same during the period they cover." The "Controversies" are "ever-enduring and permanently apposite problems." It is evident therefore that Mr. Cram does not claim to have settled definitively the controversies. He has many times shown us in the past that he has a determined opinion or rather, mind, on some things. I wish sometimes that he would be just as determined when there is question of his view on controverted matters. How can one argue with a man who begins by admitting that he may be mistaken? But there is a certain beauty, which like the lines of the cathedrals and other structures which have had their first reality within the "mind" of the learned author, carries the eye along until it seems to glimpse the rainbow at the end, or catch the curving waters where the cataract begins its plunge. We have to thank Ralph Adams Cram for much of the good which is resulting from the revival of liturgical interest, even within the Catholic Church. Like Pusey in the days of Newman, he has led many to the Catholic Church of England before the Reformation. Hence we like best, among these essays, the delicate zeal with which he has treated "The Oxford Movement and Public Worship." (F. A. WALSH, O. S. B.)

CRUMLEY, THOMAS, C. S. C., *Logic, Deductive and Inductive.* (New York, the Macmillan Company, 1934, pp. 442, $2.40.) The fact that this is a second edition of a quite recent text-book in logic is evidence in itself of the opinion of the interested public. Father Crumley has had a wide experience in the teaching of this subject and out of that experience he has given us a treatise that keeps clearly in mind the mind of undergraduates who are making their first struggle with the intricacies of formal logic. He presents his matter with a wealth of examples and a freshness of style that make his book an ideal text. Our chief criticism of it lies in his very brief consideration of the problem of induction and in his failure even to indicate the recent developments in modern logic. Undoubtedly the author was desirous of keeping his work within certain limits prescribed by the scholastic year or semester. Even so, we think it would have been possible to condense sections included to make room for some indication, at least, of the significance of symbolic logic; to extend the methodological section to include at least the elements of historical methodology. Surely critical thinking in this latter field is of equal importance with that of thinking in the physical sciences, and it is to the logician that the ordinary undergraduate must look for guidance in more careful judgment of the data of history as well as that of the more exact sciences. (CHARLES A. HART.)

DAVIDSON, ELIZABETH H., *The Establishment of the English Church in Continental American Colonies.* [Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series XX.] (Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1936, pp. 94, $1.00.) In her attempt to show to what extent the English colonial Church differed from the Church in the mother country, the author of this essay brings out two important facts: the determined but futile efforts to establish the Anglican system on this side of the Atlantic and the notable lack of unity among the English churches in the colonies. Although Miss Davidson refers to the struggle for supremacy that went on between the sects themselves, she passes over that more unfortunate characteristic of colonial religious life, namely the intolerance one sect had for the other and all of them for Catholicism. To merely state that those colonies (Virginia excepted) where "the English church was established by law might discriminate against dissenting sects in political matters, but the principle of freedom of worship was generally extended to include all Protestants" is not an adequate summing up of colonial intolerance. Of special interest to Catholics is the chapter on the Anglican church in Maryland. But when she writes that the Catholics were especially admonished by Lord Baltimore not to discuss religion and that "It is evident that the Catholics were unable to obtain political control," she gives the unpleasant impression that she is of the opinion that the Maryland Catholics constituted the only threat to religious freedom in the colonies; and this even though later she acknowledges that "the

Protestants seemed to have increased with greater rapidity" than the Catholics. She neglects to give the story of how the Maryland Catholics were dispossessed of their colony and then persecuted, a phase of American Anglican history that no impartial historian can afford to pass over. The essay is followed by a good bibliography, but unfortunately has no index. (**Joseph B. Code.**)

D'Irsay, Stephen, *Histoire des Universités Françaises et Etrangères.* Tome III: *Du XVI^e siècle à 1860.* (Paris, Auguste Picard, 1935, pp. vi, 451.)

Aigrain, René, *Les Universités Catholiques.* (Paris, Auguste Picard, 1935, pp. ii, 79.) Following the appearance of his volume, in 1933 (see brief notice in C. H. R., XX, January, 1935), Dr. d'Irsay was actively preparing the continuation of his monumental work, when death in November, 1934, cut short this great work. Thus the volume under review stops at 1860. But even in its present form Dr. d'Irsay's work is far the best that has ever been attempted. However, it is unfortunate that the author should have fallen into the traditional trap of French writers by giving too much credence to the memoirs of Czartoryski, written at a time when the former collaborator of Emperor Alexander I of Russia had already turned completely anti-Russian. Therefore the very brief chapter on Public Instruction in the Russian Empire is definitely biased and thus could not be accepted as an objective scientific treatment of the subject. The companion volume of Dr. Aigrain fills the gap left in the unfinished work of Dr. d'Irsay. It mentions rather briefly the high-lights of the history of the Catholic University of America, but fails to mention any other Catholic institution of higher learning in this country. As in the first volume, the illustrations, the index, and the general appearance are perfect. (**Leonid I. Strakhovsky.**)

Doderell, H. H. (Ed.), *The Cambridge Shorter History of India.* (New York, Macmillan and Co., 1934, pp. 970, $4.00.) This volume is the product of three authors, Mr. Allan of the Coins and Medals Department of the British Museum; the Lecturer in Persian at London University, Sir Wolsey Haig; and lastly Mr. H. H. Doderell, of London University where he is a professor of History and Culture of the British Dominions in Asia, and who also acted as the editor in control. The book is divided into three sections: the first dealing with ancient India; the second with Muslim India; the third with British India. Fortunately, the volume has twenty-one maps, including one of the Northwest Frontier from Dr. C. Davies' volume on that area.

To some, the issue of a shorter history of India, so soon after the *Cambridge History* in six volumes, will appear peculiar. But it must be remembered that though the subject is vast and complex, there are many who do not desire to read a more detailed account, but simply what might be termed an authoritative summary by experts. In this handy volume they have such a summary. The two-hundred-odd pages by Mr. Allan constitute really the remarkable portion of this volume, because the materials for the early history of India are still scanty; and further, he did not have access to the work on which Professor Rapson is engaged, as only one of the two promised volumes has as yet been published, while the discoveries at Majen-Daro had not been sufficiently made known when the first of Dr. Rapson's volumes was given to the public. Yet the work of Mr. Allan on the Asakan period and the foreign invaders of the Northwest India and especially the Gupta period are as interesting as they are concise. Part two by Sir Wolsdey Haig called for much different treatment, as for his period Muslim India suffers from a superabundance of records, from Persia, Afghanistan and the Nughal Dynasty, even though much of this deals with the invasion of Timur, as well as that of Babur and subsequent conquests of Bengal, Gujarat, Kashmir and the wars of succession. This is the fault of the period, not of the author. The final section which is from the pen of Dr. Doderell deals with what he calls British India, which he introduces with an account of the approach from the sea by the Portuguese and their rise as a trading nation. Though Dr. Doderell lays too little emphasis on the effect of the conquest of Portugal by Spain (1580-1640) and the immediate effect of this upon the Portugese mercantile marine and the use of this in Spanish enterprise, rather than as a means of holding the colonial areas and their trade more firmly in their hands, none the less, the narrative flows easily from his pen, especially when he speaks of the era of contemplated and then actual attempted reforms in India. One curious feature in British colonial as well as in Indian history is passed over—that though the American War of Independence had been fought, in 1790 the East India Company inaugurated the plan of selecting provincial governors for India from the political world of London instead of from men who had served their company well in India. In this year Macartney was appointed Governor of Madras, which action clearly indicated a measure of indifference to the knowledge and opinions of expert servants, just as in the case of America there was an indifference to the views and opinions from the 13 colonies when submitted to London. Indeed, after Macartney's appointment there were few cases in which members of the administration received promotion or attention, though of course Monro, Malcolm, and Elphinstone stand out as cases against London appointments.

This new volume must not be mistaken as a mere résumé of the volumes forming the *Cambridge History of India.* Indeed, it differs therefrom considerably. But of course the same avenues of research were open to those responsible for the three divisions of this book. But the text must be viewed from the angle of being a separate effort and a deliberate attempt to bring the history of India into a compact volume for the use of a student, though a reading of the index discloses only one entry against the name of Mr. M. R. Gandhi and that is to mention that he was a Gujarati lawyer who went to South Africa (p. 894). (BOYD CARPENTER.)

FORAN, E. A., *The Life of St. Clare of the Cross.* (London, Burns, Oates and Washbourne, Ltd., 1935, pp. viii, 90.) The author has written interestingly, though briefly, of this thirteenth-century saint, and has indicated his sources wherever necessary. Although we do not know all the powers of nature, we do know some things which nature cannot do. If a certain event did happen; if it was above, contrary to, or beyond the powers of nature, and if it was produced by God, then it can be known with certainty as a miracle. Father Foran, in this excellent little *Life,* shows how God put His stamp of approval on the wonderful charity and sanctity of His austere Clare of the Cross through a miracle. We need faith to believe many things, but not to believe in the sanctity of Clare. Her body preserved incorrupt for six centuries, her extraordinary heart, on which were engraved in living tissue the instruments of Christ's passion, these need not be accepted on faith, for they rest on absolute, incontrovertible medical testimony. This historical book is an efficient antidote for spiritual dryness. It is the first life of St. Clare to be published in England, and thus fulfills its function of contributing to historical knowledge. (W. J. SCHIFFERLI.)

FULLER, JOHN DOUGLAS PITTS, *The Movement for the Acquisition of All Mexico, 1846-1848.* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1936, pp. xiv, 174.) In this volume of the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Professor Fuller traces the movement for the absorption of all Mexico to 1848. He divides the history of the movement into three periods. The first extends from the close of the American Revolution in 1783 to the independence of Texas in 1836. Interest in acquiring Mexican territory during this period was motivated by hostility to Spain and the expansive tendencies on the frontier in the old Southwest. From 1836 to 1845, three factors contributed to the movement—the continued westward advance of the frontier, the proposed annexation of Texas and the controversy with Great Britain concerning Oregon. During this period there may be noticed the growth of a feeling of nationalism, a desire to increase the power of the United States by territorial expansion, and a feeling that the United States was destined to extend its sway over all North America. Expansion has been one of the most important factors in the development of the United States. The movement for the acquisition of Mexico derived much of its strength from this sentiment of "manifest destiny." "The blessing of civil and religious liberty" and "Democratic institutions" would be extended over the continent of North America and ultimately "over the whole earth." But there were other motives besides the ideal of "manifest destiny." The South desired to get control of all the cotton lands of North America; the commercial and industrial interests wanted a harbor on the Pacific; and there were those whose aim was to prevent European expansion in the new world. There were lesser motives—the extension of Protestant Christianity and the demand for a ship canal. Moreover to expansionists, the annexation of Texas would point the way to other acquisitions: California, Cuba, Oregon, Canada, and all of Mexico. The North wanted the annexation of Canada to restore the balance of power between the slave states and the free states in the event of the annexation of Texas. Thus the move for the acquisition of Mexico found ardent supporters in all sections of the United States—the commercial and industrial East, the pro-slavery cotton growers of the South, the free states of the North and the agricultural West. The third period began in 1846 with the outbreak of the war with Mexico and ended in 1848 with the acquisition of a considerable portion of Mexican territory and the failure to acquire all Mexico. The volume is fully documented, contains an excellent bibliography, and a detailed index. (HERBERT W. RICE.)

Glover, T. R., *The Ancient World: A Beginning.* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1935, pp. 388.) This is a popularly written sketch not of ancient history in the current sense of the term but in the antiquated one of the history of Greece and Rome, for almost nothing is said of the great Oriental and Pre-Greek civilizations. In keeping with the plan of his book, the author has added no footnotes or references to further works beyond the rather general and formidable recommendation in the preface: "Readers who would wish a somewhat fuller treatment may find it in the *Cambridge Ancient History.*" Mr. Glover writes interestingly as always, but his story is too sketchy and is ill-proportioned. Thus out of a total of three-hundred seventy-two pages of text, only forty-four pages are devoted to the Roman Empire and Christianity. Such a book as the present was hardly necessary, as we already have too many similar works. It must be confessed that, from several points of view, the author has not been so successful in this literary venture as in his preceding ones. (M. R. P. M.)

Glover, T. R., *The World of the New Testament.* (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1933, pp. 191, $1.50.) This volume is a reprint for the Cambridge Miscellany of a work published in 1931 and reviewed in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, 1932, Vol. 17, p. 517. It is an attempt to paint the culture and the character of the world into which Christianity was introduced, and the effect of that culture and character upon the nascent religion. From the purely historical viewpoint it is a valuable and interesting study, but that the author really understands either the nature of Christ or the nature of Christianity, is certainly open to discussion. (A. P. McLoughlin, O. P.)

Gooch, R. K., D. Phil. (Oxon.), *The French Parliamentary System.* [Publications of the University of Virginia Institute for Research in the Social Sciences.] (New York and London, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1935, pp. xiv, 259, $2.75.) To those people who have been somewhat bewildered by the rapid, chameleon-like changes in the aspect of the government of France, this book may be recommended. Professor Gooch has prepared in this work a revision of an earlier doctoral dissertation. In its new form the study retains much of the careful analysis of original French documents which characterized the former thesis. On the basis of a comparison with the governmental institutions of England, Professor Gooch describes first the general characteristics of French political procedure. The author stresses the fact that French political institutions while at variance on many points with those of England and America, are nevertheless an important link in the development of modern democratic practice. The system of *grands commissions* which has obtained in the French Chamber of Deputies since 1902, and in the Senate since 1921, is followed in its evolution from the special committees established in 1876. The changing sentiment with regard to the value of standing committees is ably portrayed. It was felt at first that such committees, if permanent, would destroy the proper balance between the executive and the legislative arms of government. More than twenty years of debate centering on this controversy are reviewed and analyzed.

The final three chapters of the work discuss the present workings of the grand committee system in the spheres of legislation, finance, war, foreign affairs, and other special governmental functions. Professor Gooch regards three types of change in the French system as possible: dictatorship, revolution, or reform. Of the three, the last is considered most probable. The accuracy of his judgment would seem to be corroborated by the recent disposal of the possibly dictatorial and militaristic movement headed by De la Rocque. It may be well to note that this is a fact-finding study. Little attempt is made to show why certain types of democratic institutions have been adopted in France and not in other democratic countries. That would be quite another, though valuable, field of study. There is little doubt that Professor Gooch's work is a valuable contribution to the small literature of his subject available in English. (VERNON J. BOURKE.)

GRANT, A. J., and TEMPERLEY, HAROLD, *Europe: The Revolutionary* and *Napoleonic Eras*. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1935, pp. 187, $1.75.) Within the compass of 187 pages Professors Grant and Temperley have compiled a study of the revolutionary and Napoleonic eras. Although essentially restricted as to detail, their treatment affords a clear insight into the forces at work during this stormy period. An introductory chapter furnishes as a background a penetrating glance into European development which is surprisingly comprehensive despite its conciseness. Faced with the paradox of a basic community of ideas and practices among disparate European races, the authors seek a solution not only in the inheritance from Greece and Rome but especially in the Christian ideas of faith, morals, and worship. They find too that the organization of the Church was international in aim and character and that "feudalism, chivalry, trade organizations, universities had an international character greater than anything that we find in the modern world until the nineteenth century" (p. 2). This compact and thoroughly readable volume concludes with an epilogue summarising the work of the Congress of Vienna. There is an index and three colored maps; it lacks a bibliography. (S. A. G.)

GREGERSEN, HALFDAN, *Ibsen and Spain*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1936, pp. xiv, 209, $2.50.) This painstaking and objective book forms Volume X of the Harvard Studies in Romance Languages and Literature and as such will interest students of the Spanish drama. Mr. Gregersen has undertaken to expound the influence which Ibsen has had upon modern Spanish dramatists. He considers that Galdos, Benevente, and Martin Sierra reveal the greatest degree of influence of Ibsen though upon the evidence presented it is an influence of reaction and criticism rather than of imitation. He finds that Ibsen rather bored the Madrileños who thought him shallow, inconclusive, not clear and unreal in the strict philosophic sense, characteristics which the strong common sense of the typical Spaniard vigorously rejects. On the other hand the Catalans gave him more hospitable welcome finding a fundamental affinity with Ibsen's revolt against the established law and order. The debate of the intellectuals on the pros and cons of Ibsen's contributions to the drama and social philosophy is well set forth. Those familiar with the long development of Spain in these fields will not be surprised to find that the de-Catholicized Spanish intellectual was the one to welcome the Ibsenesque idea most heartily, though not without reservations. In general the Spaniard prefers his drama to deal with action in which ideas come to grips with the soul's struggle with the Divine. Ibsen preferred to see the present as the past but the Spaniard sees the present as the now of eternity, which gives to Spanish drama even at its worst a field too broad for the Ibsen focus, and inclines him to a lyricism which annoys the slower minds of the North. In addition Spain presents, though not as widespread as elsewhere, the modern dilemma where the inner life is divorced from action since the increasing mechanization of human activities precludes much if not all of individual activity. Ibsen reminds too unpleasantly of this dehumanized situation to have been really popular anywhere in Spain. One can rely on the people in the long run to agree with the criticism of the Madrileños on Ibsen: *Con la cabeza se piensa, pero no se siente.* (MARIE R. MADDEN.)

HANKE, LEWIS, *The First Social Experiments in America.* [Harvard Historical Monographs, V.] (Cambridge, Mass., 1935, pp. xii, 99.) This striking title is made to cover the history of the various commissions appointed by the Spanish crown shortly after the discovery of America to determine the human or non-human character of the American natives and of the many efforts made to segregate the Indians and give them liberty for social development. The problem of the American natives involved a number of theoretical issues: Were they part of the human family? Did they have souls? Were they slaves by nature, in the Aristotelean sense? Were they capable of absorbing the elements of a Spanish and a Christian civilization? The attempt to arrive at a solution was complicated by the greed and cruelty of the conquerors. Three great efforts are examined: the Jeronymite Interrogatory, when Cardinal Ximenes sent three friars to settle the question of the Indians' ability to live in freedom; the Experiments of Rodrigo de Figueroa, who was to give the Indians their freedom as far as possible, and determine whether the Indians could live like Spaniards; lastly, the "Experiencia" in Cuba, which also failed. We note in Appendix A (Were the Indians descended from the lost ten tribes of Israel?) this reference: "The most recent satisfactory treatment of this theme is Herbert F. Wright, 'Origin of American Aborigines', CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, III, Oct., 1917." The entire monograph is of high grade, thoroughly documented. (F. A. WALSH.)

HIGGS, HENRY, *Bibliography of Economics 1751-1775.* (New York, the Macmillan Company, 1935, pp. 650, $11.) This work was prepared for the British Academy largely from the materials collected over a period of fifty years by Professor H. S. Foxwell, St. John's College, Cambridge. The publications listed are conveniently arranged by years. Each of the twenty-five years covered is subdivided as follows: General Economics, Agriculture, Shipping, Manufactures, Commerce, Colonies, Finance, Transport, Social Conditions, Topography, and Miscellaneous. The student of American history will find this work helpful in dealing with the American colonial difficulties which led up to the Revolution. The references to the negotiation of the peace with France and the cession of Canada in 1763 are extensive. The sociologist will find a wealth of material on the problems of a nation just feeling the impact of industrialization. The student of economic history can avail himself of the frequent references to the colonial policies of Spain, France, and Holland, as well as the many indications of source materials related to the fiscal problems which confronted the British government during the expansive wars of the twenty-five year period covered by this bibliography. There are scores of pamphlets and books listed which treat of the economic problems of Ireland. The student of religious history may be aided by the references to pamphlets on the problems of popery in England and Ireland although there is very little dealing with religious development in the American colonies. Although this book lists mainly British and French materials, others of interest to British scholars in Spanish, German, and Portuguese are included. Most of the materials are available in the University of London Library. However, the Harvard University Library has duplicates and much additional material all covered by this bibliography. Unfortunately there is no reference to the location of the materials. Some of them are not available in London or Cambridge, but are included as a helpful clue for persevering scholars. The editor has prepared an excellent introduction which relates the events of the times to the materials listed. (GEORGE K. MCCABE.)

HYNEK, R. W., M. D., *Science and the Holy Shroud: An Examination into the Sacred Passion and the Direct Cause of Christ's Death.* Translated from the Czech by Dom Augustine Studeny, O. S. B. (Chicago, Benedictine Press, 1936, pp. 140, $1.50.) This book is not directly an attempt to establish the authenticity of the Holy Shroud of Turin, but rather, that authenticity taken for granted, an account of what a scientific examination of this relic has revealed concerning the passion and death of Our Lord. For the author, many obscure details are clarified; further, there is preserved for us in this winding-sheet an actual photographic image of the dead Christ. The conclusions are startling but the arguments are convincing. (A. M. MCLOUGHLIN, O. P.)

JANELLE, PIERRE, Université de Clermont, *Robert Southwell the Writer: A Study in Religious Inspiration.* (New York, Sheed and Ward, Inc., 1935, pp. 336, $3.50.) When the full story of the Protestant Revolution in England shall have been written, one fact will stand out particularly clear: Catholicism never died out in that country, as the Protestant historians would have us believe, but continued to mould men's minds and hearts long after the Church as an organized body ceased to exist. It is a matter of record, of course, that the Sanctuary Lamp was never extinguished in certain places, but few realize how the Faith lived on elsewhere influencing the lives of those who had, or whose fathers had, broken away from the Church. The latent Catholicity of Elizabethan England is seen to good advantage in the devotional literature then in constant demand; practically all of it was of Catholic origin, and much of it written by men who were branded by the anti-Catholic government as traitors and spies. Although the Faith was slowly ebbing, the sympathy with Catholic asceticism remained and here, as in several other instances, the Church was able to influence for good a people whose leaders had robbed them of something that had been a vital part of England for centuries before. Pierre Janelle brings this out in an interesting way in his study of Blessed Robert Southwell, S. J. Although several studies of Southwell as poet, confessor, or martyr have appeared, very little has ever been done with regard to Southwell, the prose-writer, whose almost perfect prose is not only classical in character but certainly far in advance of what was being written at that time. Hence this book of Dr. Janelle's is of particular worth: it reveals Southwell as influencing English letters and the English character long after English Catholic life had passed away. Dr. Janelle even maintains that Southwell started a tradition of literary work second in importance only to the substance of his writing, which was, indeed, a part of the Counter-Reform in England. This work of Dr. Janelle, therefore, is a useful contribution to the better understanding of Tudor England, not because it places Blessed Southwell where he belongs in the history of English letters, but because it exemplifies the too little known fact that Catholicism died hard in England, or rather that it lived on in strange ways and places even after those who thought they had killed it no longer remained upon the scene. There are several appendices, in addition to a good bibliography and an index, which add to the value of this work. (JOSEPH B. CODE.)

KURTH, GODFREY, *Saint Boniface*. Translated by the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Victor Day with latest historical findings inserted by the Rev. Francis S. Betten, S. J. (Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Co., 1935, pp. xiii, 178.) The appearance, in English form, of this reliable and interesting life of St. Boniface will be welcomed by English readers. The work is a brief, popular life of the Saint, but it presents a sufficiency of detail for a right estimation of the Saint and his work. The author declared it his aim "not to publish facts heretofore unknown, but rather to present to the public in accessible form all present data concerning St. Boniface." This purpose of the author has been furthered and seconded by the translator and reviser of the book. The translation is well done. The reviser has brought the work up to date by the insertion of the latest historical findings concerning St. Boniface. These insertions are worked into the body of the original text and in no wise break its continuity. They are indicated by a convenient system of asterisks. Coming from the pen of Godfrey Kurth the work is thoroughly critical and reliable, being based in every instance on original source material and the conclusions of trustworthy secondary works. A good, though not exhaustive, bibliography of primary and secondary sources dealing with St. Boniface is appended, while a handy index completes the volume. The work is rendered attractive by a dozen or more handsome illustrations depicting scenes from the life of St. Boniface. (W. A. HINNEBUSCH, O. P.)

LANGSAM, WALTER CONSUELO, Ph. D., *The World since 1914*. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1936, pp. xvi, 888, $3.50.) Students of history are indebted to Columbia University for hardly a month passes that does not witness the publication of valuable historical works by a member of its history department. *The World since 1914* was first published in 1933; since then it has gone into a third edition. The present edition is in every way superior to the earlier printings as it contains a splendid chapter on Latin America in addition to several maps. The aim of the volume is to contribute to a classification of the issues that have confronted civilization since the Great War, and "to provide a readable, organized, and compact exposition of the world developments . . . which appeared to be the most promising or the most portentous." This the author has done admirably. Necessarily there has been much condensation of material yet few, if any, matters of international importance, have been overlooked. The volume has three main divisions: Part I, War and Peace; Part II, The New World; Part III, National Aftermath, and these are elaborated in XXIII illuminating chapters. The paragraphs here reproduced illustrate the manner in which the author discusses certain issues:

> Wilson's tactical mistakes were, in some measure, the result of his character and personality. His idealism frequently was above the heads of the people and he found it difficult to make himself understood. Apparently he was willing to sacrifice much, even friendships, for the sake of his ideals. Though his knowledge of European affairs was limited, he sometimes failed or was unable to give adequate attention to the reports drawn up after months of investigation and research by the technical experts whom he had taken to Europe to advise him on matters within their respective fields of knowledge. In diplomacy, Wilson was no match for his foreign colleagues at Paris (p. 90).

Discussing the several treaties arising from "the war to end wars," the author says:

> They were patently one-sided. They were replete with unstable compromise. They reflected materialism tinged, here and there, with idealism—but also with hypocrisy. They sowed the seeds of future conflict. . . . Some of their mistakes were obvious at the time they were made, but many stood out more clearly only after the passing of several years. There was much hatred and vengeance, hypocrisy and force. . . . The four years of blood and mire had not increased reasonableness nor sweetened tempers (p. 130).

The work is splendidly ordered, contains an exhaustive bibliography, and presented in Macmillans' best form. (P. W. BROWNE.)

LAPP, JOHN A., and WEAVER, ROBERT B., *The Citizen and His Government: A Study of Democracy in the United States.* (New York, Silver, Burdett and Company, 1935, pp. vii, xxxii, 680, $1.80.) In view of our changing governmental scene, this excellent text for secondary schools meets a need that has become most apparent. By giving extended treatment to the problems that government is facing, it will aid greatly in encouraging students to think for themselves—a necessary development if these same students are to acquire a correct understanding of the proper functions of government. (J. J. M.)

LENHART, JOHN M., O. M. Cap., *Pre-Reformation Printed Books: a Study in Statistical and Applied Bibliography.* (New York, Joseph F. Wagner, *Franciscan Studies*, No. 14, October, 1935, pp. xiv, 197, $1.00.) Father Lenhart divides this study into three parts: in the first, he brings together a wealth of information concerning the general and material aspects of the printing industry prior to 1520, and then (which is new) ventures upon some statistical approximations of the number of books printed in all Europe, in the various countries and cities, in the several languages, and in the various categories of human knowledge sacred and profane; in the second part, he examines the quality, orthodoxy, nature, and morality of the works printed, the branches of knowledge represented in the productions, together with statistics for each of the various subject categories; in the third part, he looks into the economic, cultural, esthetic, social, and editorial aspects of pre-Reformation books, and concludes with a brief history of bibliographical researches in the field of early printing. This study is decidedly an apologetic, and it is not surprising that a Protestant editor should have rejected the manuscript as too "denominational" for publication in a bibliographical periodical. But facts and statistics are stubborn things, even if presented in apologetic fashion. On the whole, the author is cautious in his estimates and prudent in his statements. Historians will do well to "be cautioned against using any longer the strong language they have been using these many years in describing the conditions of the Church on the eve of the Reformation." The quality of the books produced and the magnitude of the trade *in themselves,* of course, furnish no adequate criterion of actual moral conditions, but the facts here brought together and the statistical approximations seriously challenge the accuracy of the picture of conditions painted by pre-Reformation preachers whose oratorical outbursts have been all too generally and readily accepted. (J. B. WALKER.)

LEONARD, JOSEPH, C. M. (Tr.), *The Life and Labours of Saint Vincent de Paul.* Translated from the French of Pierre Coste, C. M. Three vols. (London, Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1934-1935, pp. xxiii, 608, xi, 500, xii, 563, 21s. per vol.) It was the present writer's charge to review the original French work in these columns (REVIEW, XX, 77-79). What was then said of Pierre Coste's problems and methods will be of service in considering this monumental work in its English garb. From a literary point of view the work has suffered noticeably at the hands of the translator. It is a translation, at times almost slavish, and not in any sense a free rendition. However, this very defect is at the same time an asset. It serves to inspire confidence in the accuracy of the translation. In June, 1933, the French Academy conferred upon Pierre Coste's biography of St. Vincent the highest award at its disposal for historical work, the highly coveted *Grand Prix Gobert.* It is with deep and sincere regret that we note the passing of the eminent scholar of Vincentian lore. Father Coste died in January of the current year in Paris at the age of 62. For twenty years he had made extensive studies of St. Vincent, whose compatriot he was. Although afflicted with a painful illness for many months and bedridden, he labored to the very end to complete and polish portions of the biography that was so dear to him. He died, we might truthfully say, with pen in hand. (CYPRIAN EMANUEL, O. F. M.)

LODGE, E. C., and G. A. THORNTON, *Constitutional Documents, 1307-1485.* (New York, Macmillan, Cambridge University Press, 1935, xxv, 430, $3.50.)

The Misses Lodge and Thornton, both connected with the University of London, have edited their book to help teachers of English history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with accessible original documents for the period between the *Select Charters* of Bishop Stubbs and the *Tudor Constitutional Documents* of Tanner. Some have been, and others have not been, published before. There are three grand divisions: the Central Government (pp. 1-288), the Church (pp. 289-292), and the Local Government (pp. 323-419). Each section is preceded by a brief introduction explaining the main points illustrated in the documents. Short bibliographies invite the student to pursue his researches. However, the extracts are printed in the original language (French or Latin), with the spelling and punctuation of the originals. There is a five-page glossary of French and Latin terms, a good index and list of the documents which themselves are arranged in chronological order. The section concerning the Church the editors "purposely left slight" because of other work now being done in that period of Church history and especially because of the forthcoming revised edition of Wilkin's *Concilia*. Needless to say the binding and printing are excellent. (M. J. Hynes.)

Lusseau et Collomb, Abbes, *Manuel d'Etudes Bibliques.* Tome I: *Introduction Generale.* (Paris, Pierre Tequi, 1936, pp. i, 572.) The *Manuel* is intended solely for ecclesiastical students and is designed to inspire them with a desire to make a more profound study of Sacred Scripture. This present volume serves as an introduction to the study of the Bible. It is divided into five sections and treats of the Inspiration, of the Canon, of the Texts, of the Versions, and of the Interpretation of Sacred Scripture. Each section is preceded by a good working bibliography. The volume conforms to the high standard of the rest of the work; the doctrine is positive, the treatment is extensive, and the exposition is clear. It does not deviate, even slightly, from the common doctrine and tradition of the Church and at the same time it makes sufficient use of the present day progress in biblical science. (Joseph S. Considine, O. P.)

McAllister, Anna, *Ellen Ewing, Wife of General Sherman.* (New York, Benziger Bros., 1936, pp. xiv, 379, $3.50.) This book deserves a prominent, if not conspicuous rating in the listing of biographical contributions of the current year. Eschewing much of the technique of the orthodox biographer, the author has produced a very interesting, a very human life-story of a valiant wife of a conspicuous figure in a stirring period of our national life. It is an excellent companion piece to Lloyd Lewis's also excellent, *Sherman, Fighting Prophet.* Together, these volumes present a vivid picture of the domestic life, the happiness, the trials, the sorrows, and the triumphs of two striking personalities during a lifespan that centered on the period of the Civil War. With much diligence and shrewd insight, Mrs. McAllister has drawn copiously from the voluminous correspondence of her subject, and with the aid of diaries and the reminiscences of others, covering the period from 1824 to 1888, has produced an intimate and interesting acocunt of Ellen Ewing's girlhood in the East, her early married life, the migrations of the Sherman household during the decade of the 1850s, and the anxiety that attended a family whose men were active on the battlefields of the Civil War. Such academic deficiencies as may be cited would seem to be adequately counterbalanced by the author's acknowledgment of her source material, and by the certificate of authenticity in the Foreword of P. Tecumseh Sherman, the sole surviving member of that household. (JOHN K. EWING.)

MUIR, RAMSAY, *A Brief History of Modern Times.* (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1935, pp. viii, 306.) The title of this book is somewhat misleading. It is not so much a history of modern times as a brief history of the Third British Empire, or of the modern British Commonwealth. Except in a few instances—the rise of Japan, German pre-war hegemony, the World War—the book is almost wholly about Britain, her dominions and protectorates, from 1880 to 1933. Mention of other things is included only in regard to their relation to Great Britain. As a British history, it is interesting and readable; it is clear and graphic; it is neither tedious nor pedantic. But it does resemble subtle propaganda. The book creates an atmosphere in which we would be led to believe that Germany was the sole cause of the World War, and fails to distinguish the essential difference between the people of Germany and her pre-war rulers until late in the narrative. The injustice which occasioned the Irish question is glossed over; America and Russia are blamed for the failure of the League; America's work in the War, in reconstruction, and food-relief, is dismissed in a few words. However, the Versailles treaty, its injustice, its tremendous influence on the following troubled times, these are subjects treated of frankly, fairly and clearly. Short bibliographies follow each chapter. The author presents an excellent picture, in a brief way, of the conditions since the War. On that phase of the history, he has pursued a much more impartial course than the pro-British attitude on the other phases. However, it is a book to be recommended, especially to those who, not having time to read exhaustive treatises on the various included subjects, can find them here summarized. (W. J. SCHIFFERLI.)

MULVEY, Sister MARY DORIS, O. P., *French Catholic Missionaries in the Present United States (1604-1791).* (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1936, pp. 158.) This valuable work is listed as number XXIII in "Studies in American Church History" published under the direction of Rt. Rev. Monsignor Peter Guilday, Professor of Church History in the Catholic University of America. Its purpose was to bring together from the vast literature which already exists on New France all those facts which tell the story of the French Catholic missionaries in the present United States. The author states that in the preparation of the work little archival research was involved "since sufficient original material is available in printed sources." The study contains seven illuminating chapters: The Church in New France; Colonial New England (1604-1763); The Iroquois Country (1642-1763); The Old Northwest (1642-1763); The Illinois Country (1673-1763); French Louisiana (1682-1763); The Present United States (1763-1791).

It is an excellent survey of the French contribution to Catholicism in the present United States, and sets forth in detail the story of zealous missionaries, religious congregations of men and women who came from all parts of

France to the United States. It will surprise many to learn that in the chronology of the American hierarchy thirty-five bishops of French origin are listed. During the early days of the last century American bishops turned continuously to France for laborers in the vineyard and for financial assistance. "Indeed, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith of Paris-Lyons received its inspiration through a desire to help American priests and was established as a result of Bishop Du Bourg's encouragement. Over seven million dollars flowed through that organization to the United States between 1822 and 1921."

The study contains an exhaustive bibliography and is supplied with a rather copious index. (P. W. BROWNE.)

MURPHY, Rev. DU BOSE, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Texas*. (Dallas, Tex., Turner Company, 1935, pp. ix, 173, $2.00.) Along with other historical works that are being published during the centennial year of Texas independence from Mexico is a book characterized by the author as a short history of the *Episcopal Church in Texas*. Within its 176 pages are to be found well-authenticated records of the foundations of churches, schools, and mission centers. The names of clergymen and lay persons many of whom came originally from distant posts in northern, eastern, and southern states are recorded. Mention is made of the self-sacrificing labors of individuals who participated in the development of scattered congregations in this vast territory. Almost two years had passed since Texas had won her independence before the first recorded service of the Episcopal church was conducted within the borders of the new republic. On Christmas Day, 1838, six persons gathered in the small town of Matagorda for this first meeting. During the years that followed the membership grew sporadically. The difficulty in obtaining money for missionary endeavors, the shortage of suitable persons to serve as rectors of congregations, and the problem of transportation through the vast unsettled parts of Texas all contributed toward making the task of establishing the Episcopal church a most difficult one. Today the various activities of this religious body are being directed in three dioceses and two mission districts each presided over by a bishop. The Catholic historian will find in this book much interesting information. By way of comparison the reader will observe an unparalleled growth of the Catholic Church in Texas during the same period. (WILLIAM F. BLAKESLEE, C. S. P.)

NUNES, LEONARDO, *Cronica de Dom João de Castro*. Edited by J. M. D. Ford. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1936, pp. 241, $2.50.) Professor J. M. D. Ford has rendered another great service to American and Portuguese Scholars with the publication of Leonardo Nunes' *Chronicle of Dom John de Castro*, one of the greatest heroes of Portugal in the East. The manuscript of this important document is one of the treasures of the Harvard University Library, its last owner in Portugal being the late scholar Fernando Palha. This valuable chronicle as many other precious manuscripts was made available to Harvard University through the generosity of Mr. John B. Stetson, a former student of Professor J. M. D. Ford. The text is excellently presented and the edition very attractively printed, practically without misprints.

The author of the chronicle was an official of the Portuguese government in the East who accompanied Dom John de Castro (1500-1548), governor and later viceroy, in his expeditions in India and who, therefore, was an eye-witness to all he relates. Dom John de Castro died in Goa, being attended at his death bed by his friend Saint Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies. The data collected is very clearly presented, supporting and amplifying a number of statements made by writers who have been dealing with the Portuguese in India. The native background and the pages devoted to the Second Siege of Diu form a very important part of the book. The work is divided into thirty-nine short chapters, preceded by an illuminating introduction written in English by Professor Ford. The introduction in itself is a most useful chapter for historians. (J. DE S. C.)

OLIGER, LIVARIO, O. F. M., Professore nell' Ateneo del Seminario Romano e Vice Rettore dell' Ateneo Antoniana, *B. Margherita Colonna (1280): Le Due Vite Scritte dal Fratello Giovanni Colonna Senatore di Roma e da Stephania Monaca di S. Silvestro in Capite.* Testi Inedite del Secolo XIII. (Lateranum, Nova Series, An. I, N. 2, Roma, 1935, pp. xv, 236, L. 25.) P. Oliger gives us a critical edition of the hitherto unedited text of the earliest biographies of Blessed Margaret Colonna, as contained in Codex 104 (A. IV 36), Bibliotheca Casanatense, Rome. In his Introduction in five chapters (pp. 3-108), he establishes at the outset that Codex Casanatensis 104 dates from the first half of the fourteenth century; that it really contains two lives of B. Margaret both written within ten years after her death. He proves that Vita I was written (1281-1285) by Giovanni Colonna, Senator of Rome and brother of B. Margaret; that Vita II was written (1288-1292) by the superioress of the Convent of S. Silvestro in Capite, fellow religious and friend of the saint, who names herself, in the prologue addressed to Cardinal Giacomo Colonna, Sister Stephania. In Chapter II P. Oliger discusses the literature dealing with B. Margaret from the early sixteenth century to the present day. This is shown to be of secondary value as compared with the thirteenth century lives. In Chapter III he deals with questions of genealogy and chronology; and in Chapter IV with the cult (officially confirmed 1847) and the iconography of B. Margaret. P. Oliger is the first to call attention to the existence of two distinct lives of B. Margaret in Codex Casanatensis 104, and first also to fix the authorship of both, and to prove that the date of her death was Dec. 30, 1280 (not 1284 as generally stated). He shows that the attachment to Franciscanism so marked in B. Margaret and in her brothers, Cardinal Giacomo and Senator Giovanni, was derived from their mother, an Orsini, sister of Matteo Rosso Orsini, the friend of St. Francis and father of Pope Nicholas III. It goes without saying that P. Oliger's work is of great hagiographical value, but it is also important for general Church history as throwing some light on the antagonism between the Colonnas and Boniface VIII. P. Oliger thinks that this antagonism is to some extent accounted for by the fact that it is clear from the Lives that while Cardinal Giacomo was deeply religious he was also credulous and visionary and accordingly easily accessible to the arguments of the extremist supporters of Celestine V, the "Papa Angelico," and so found himself among the opponents of the implacable Boniface. The

Latin text of the Lives is furnished with critical and explanatory notes that facilitate intelligent reading. The volume is completed by an alphabetical index and eleven interesting plates. (PATRICK J. BARRY.)

PARÉ, G., BRUNET, A., TREMBLAY, P., *La Renaissance du XIIè siècle; Les Ecoles et l'Enseignement.* (Ottawa, Inst. d'Études Médiévales, 1933, pp. 324.) In 1909, G. Robert published as his dissertation: *Les écoles et l'enseignement de la théologie pendant la première moitie du XII siècle.* This book has been out of print for a number of years; as a matter of fact because of the progress made in medieval studies during the past twenty years, there was no need of re-editing it. Paré, Brunet and Tremblay, taking Robert's dissertation as a frame work, give a scholarly picture of the medieval schools and of the teaching of theology in the XIIth century. The first chapter is devoted to the episcopal, monastic, and court schools. The chapter on "L'Organisation Scolaire" is extremely interesting as the authors have taken into consideration the intellectual life of the teachers and the students, the disciplines in vogue at the time, and the tools which were in use. The program of studies is then stated. The authors have based their conclusions on the *Didascalion* of Hugues de Saint Victor and the *Metalogicon* of Jean de Salisbury. Students of education would find a mine of information in the methods of teaching that were used in the XIIth century in the chapter entitled "Les Methodes d'Enseignement." The second part deals specifically with theology and its teaching in the XIIth century. The authors show conclusively that the renaissance as seen at this time was due to a theological humanism which gave to the Middle Ages that sane religious spirit which is found in no other period. It was this religious spirit which brought out that spiritual culture, and that happiness which is found in all domains of the Middle Ages. This book is of immense value to the student but it is heavy reading, as the authors have sustained each statement with primary sources. At the end there are three tables, one for the proper name cited in the volume, a second for the lexicography, and a third for the analysis of the individual chapters. It is to be regretted that there is not a bibliography of the works used; however, the indications given in the foot notes are clear and can take the place of a general list. (LÉON BAISIER.)

PASCHINI, Can. PIO, Rettore Magnifico dell' Ateneo, Professore di Storia Ecclesiastico, *Leonello Chieregato, Nunzio d'Innocenzo VIII e di Alessandro VI.* (Lateranum, Nova Serie, An. I., N. 3, Roma, 1935, pp. 113, 10 L.) The name of Leonello Chieregato is familiar to students of the late fifteenth century papacy. The scion of a noble family of Vincenza, a graduate of the University of Padua, he entered the service of the church (c. 1464) under the patronage of Marco Barbo, then bishop of Vicenza. He accompanied his patron to Rome when the latter became cardinal and camerlengo under Paul II (1467). He was provided by Sixtus IV with the bishopric of Arbe in Dalmatia (1472), and translated by Innocent VIII first to Trau (1481), and later to Concordia (1488). He was for the greater part of his career a "Prelato di Palazzo" in Rome, but served on two very important diplomatic missions—to France in the service of Innocent VIII and to Germany in that of

Alexander VI. In the confidence of the *Curia* and representing it when its moral and spiritual prestige was low (1470-1500), Chieregato maintained a reputation for learning and integrity. Paschini concludes his study with the reflection that "after more than four centuries it is not labor lost to render homage to this learned, industrious, and upright prelate whose life reveals that there were not wanting really good men in this usually darkly depicted period." This conclusion appears to be justified in the case of Chieregato. Lack of source material makes a biography of him impossible. The author has therefore very aptly described his work as "biographical notes and documents." The biographical notes are sober and restrained and never pass beyond what is given in the documents. The documents though few are valuable for the flashes they cast, not so much upon the personality of Chieregato, as upon the *Curia* and its relations, *e. g.*, Sixtus IV and his nephews, the business of benefices, the papacy and France in the pontificate of Innocent VIII, relations with Germany in the days of Sixtus IV and Alexander VI, mendicant orders, and the abuse of indulgences in France, etc. Students of the Renaissance papacy will not be disappointed in this small volume. (PATRICK J. BARRY.)

PEARDON, THOMAS PRESTON, Ph. D., Instructor in Barnard College, *The Transition in English Historical Writing, 1760-1830.* [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, No. 390.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1933, pp. 340, $4.50.) Historiography, apart from bibliography and dictionaries of historical writings, offers rich and unworked fields for the scholar possessing critical faculties, philosophic leanings, and an interest in literary and historical relationships. Studies of this nature are few indeed. With topics for doctoral dissertations becoming scarcer and thinner, as is evidenced by Carnegie Institution's annual list of those in progress, students might well follow Dr. Peardon in this fertile field. After a discussion of English historical writing in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, especially as reflected in the work of Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon, this book proceeds to note, through the contributions of the rationalists, party historians (first the Tory emphasis, later the more liberal Whig interpretation), expounders of primitivism, medievalism, and pietism, and the schools of nationalism and romanticism, how the tradition of those earlier writers persisted. The author's treatment of Lingard (pp. 277-283) concludes with the statement that "the great admiration with which anyone who reads Lingard will come to regard him must always be tempered with regret that his aims were not quite those of scholarship in its purest form." On this subject the reader should compare the critical analysis of the Rev. Dr. Joseph B. Code to be found in a more recent study, *Queen Elizabeth and the English Catholic Historians*, Ch. V. (L. F. S.)

PIROTTA, ANGELI, O. P., *Sancti Thomae Aquinatos in Decem Libras Ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nicomachum Expositio.* (Libraria Marietti, Tourina, Italia, 1934, pp. xxiv, 747.) This new edition of the commentary of St. Thomas on the ten books of Aristotle's Nicomachiam by Father Pirotta will be hailed by all students of the Angelic Doctor who have had evidence of the editor's scholarship in the recent new edition of the *De Anima* from the same pen. This commentary still ranks first among the numerous discussions of one of the most important and socially most influential of the Stagyrite's great works. Every student of both Aristotle and St. Thomas will readily grant the need of this new edition. A careful examination of the text will reveal the immense labor which has gone into its preparation. The method employed by the editor is similar to that used in other editions by him. His latest effort should be a stimulus to more scholarly approach to this rather neglected treatise of the Saint. (CHARLES A. HART.)

RAPPOPORT, A. S., Ph. D., *Mediaeval Legends of Christ*. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935, pp. 312, $3.00.) The material handled in this book is interesting and often beautiful. However, Dr. Rappoport's attitude toward religions as a relativistic phenomenon; his implied, if not openly stated contention that these legends are pretty little stories, invented by the credulous mind, mere indications of folk psychology, cannot help but be a bit distasteful, not only to Catholics, but to most persons of genuine religious convictions. Excluding the introduction this book is divided into eleven sections dealing with legends of the Virgin Mary, the Nativity, the Flight into Egypt, the resting places on the Flight, the Childhood of Christ, Christ's wandering on Earth, the legends of the Holy Rood, of the Wandering Jew, of Joseph, of Arimathea, Judas, and Pilate. Here, where the author refrains from general statements, where he restricts himself to compiling stories he has gathered from various sources, he is on safer ground. The fragmentary and rather scrappy character of this book makes one suspect that it was put together to utilize material that had not been included in the author's *Myths and Legends of Ancient Israel*. A bibliography and an index add to the usefulness of the work. (LÉON BAISIER.)

RENAUDIN, PAUL, *Marie de l'Incarnation, Ursuline de Tours et Quebec: Essai de Psychologie Religieuse*. (Paris, Bloud et Gay, 1935, pp. 340.) The author of *Amour Profane et Amour Sacré*, an earlier brilliant exploration into the seventeenth century, has now given us a distinguished study of Marie de l'Incarnation. Those who have neither the time nor the inclination to wade through Dom Jamet's volumes will welcome this succinct and scholarly life. It is to be hoped that the recently awakened interest in the saints of the north will lead some spiritual descendant of Mère Marie's to translation; for, as far as we know, there exists in English no competent and exhaustive work.

M. Renaudin has chosen to interpret Marie Guyart's mysticism as it would appear to an intelligent and sympathetic Catholic, steering a middle course between modern psychology and the realm of theology. He so dares, he tells us, because despite her sublimity, there is nothing inaccessible about Marie de l'Incarnation; she always remains very near us. A great mystic who blended the vocations of Martha and Mary in almost imperceptible beauty, she possessed not a trace of morbidity and even the most unorthodox critic cannot bring the question of pathology to bear upon her ecstatic states. There was something delightfully fresh and buoyant about Marie. She disappoints us only in her treatment of the adolescent Claude—and there M. Renaudin is not quite in accord with Abbé Brémond.

The further Mère Marie penetrated the deep and dazzling darkness of mystical experience, the more indefatigably she worked for the world eddying around her, whether in quiet Tours or in turbulent Quebec. "And why should this astonish us?" asks M. Renaudin, "for God is life . . . and God is act." (ALICE MCLARNEY.)

RICHARDSON, ERNEST CUSHING, *Materials for a Life of Jacopo da Varagine.* (New York, H. W. Wilson Co., 1935, pp. xiv, 307, $2.00.) In this splendid work we have what may prove to be the starting point of several doctoral dissertations. From what he says in his preface this is just a hastily edited compilation of notes of forty years duration, to be followed by smaller volumes on bibliography, political data, sundry textual studies, transcripts of documents, etc. Further material which does not reach the point of preparation for publication, together with some manuscripts and printed sources, will be given to the Library of Congress so as to be available to scholars working on the life of the Dominican friar, Jacopo da Varagine, and his time.

Part I treats of the subject as Maker of the Italian Language; Part II, His Latin Writings; Part III, His Public Activities; Part IV, Index. It is undoubtedly a very valuable work for medieval students since, up to the present time, there is practically no literature in the English language dealing with the author of the *Legenda Aurea* and his proper place in history.

Dr. Richardson is to be congratulated on focusing his critical attention on this dominant, and almost forgotten, figure of the thirteenth century. Varagine has many claims to distinction, among them the fact that he was the author of the first translation of the Bible into Italian; provincial of the Preaching Friars in Northern Italy; Archbishop of Genoa; the author of the *Legenda Aurea* and other works; and the peacemaker between several Italian city-states. Dr. Richardson proposes him as a patron for the League of Nations. It is to be regretted that he did not have more time and opportunity to work his materials into a more critical study of Varagine and his writings. It would have been an invaluable study of mediaeval life. As it stands, this recreative by-product of more exacting studies in text-critical research will prove a mine of information for some students.

A few criticisms may be pertinent for those who make use of this volume. On p. 9, he mentions the "Knights of Peace" which formed the Third Order of the Dominicans. It should read, "Knights of Penance," or the "Militia of Penance." In the middle of the same page, it was not necessary that "all members of this order were noblemen and noblewomen," for the Dominican Third Order embraced all classes and all walks of society. Then too, throughout the book, a Catholic scholar would put a different interpretation and explanation on many of Dr. Richardson's observations. (CHARLES M. DALEY, O. P.)

SHEEN, Rt. Rev. FULTON J., Ph. D., *The Mystical Body of Christ.* (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1935, pp. viii, 404, $2.50.) Thousands of radio listeners, both Catholic and non-Catholic, who follow with interest the instructive and inspiring discourses of Monsignor Sheen will be pleased to learn that his addresses on *The Fullness of Christ* have been put into book form with further development of the subject. This constitutes his latest work, *The Mystical Body of Christ*, in which the inner life of the Church is thoroughly discussed in itself and in its bearings on Catholic life. We might call it a *biology* of the Church. The reader will find in it the same clear logical presentation of matter, the same striking comparisons that are so characteristic of the author's radio addresses, and which so aptly illustrate his points that one need not be a philosopher or theologian to understand them.

The purpose of the work is to bring to the Catholic laity a better understanding of the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ and a deeper appreciation of the dignity and duties incident to membership in that Body. This aspect of the Church has been rather generally neglected since the sixteenth century when the so-called reformers denied that the Church of Christ is an external visible organization. This denial forced Catholic theologians to place special emphasis on her external organization as a visible society. Under this influence St. Robert Bellarmine formulated his definition of the Church with only the slightest reference to her inner spiritual life. This definition has been followed by practically all later theologians in their treatises on the Church. Of course, the effects of this inner life of the Church upon her members has always received due consideration in the tracts on Redemption, Grace, the Sacraments and elsewhere in our manuals of theology. Nevertheless, it is only in the last few years that anything like proper emphasis has been placed upon St. Paul's description of the Church as an *organism*—the *Body of Christ*.

Revival and development of this doctrine at the present time seems providential. A crisis in the history of Christianity is imminent, as Dr. Sheen himself so clearly explained in his address at the Eucharistic Congress in Cleveland last year. The *mystery of iniquity*, already at work in the days of St. Paul, has been gathering strength through the centuries. Since the World War we see it culminating in Russia, Mexico, and Germany with its sinister forces reaching out into other lands. Another world conflict, now in the offing, will hasten, if it does not actually precipitate, the inevitable struggle in which the Church must stand alone against the forces of anti-Christ, for, as Dr. Sheen observes, Protestantism has largely ceased to be Christian.

Who can fail to see how Christ has been strengthening His Mystical Body and girding His loins, so to speak, for the supreme conflict with this mystery of iniquity? For several years already we have had a return to the practice of frequent and daily Communion; many new saints have been canonized lately as models and patrons. Now we are acquiring a deeper insight into the real nature and life of the Mystical Christ—a knowledge that will make Catholicism operative in our lives, which is only another name for Catholic Action which keeps the Mystical Body alive, healthy and growing.

The Mystical Body of Christ is intended primarily for the Catholic laity. If it receive from them the attention it deserves, it will prove a great impetus to the spread of Catholic Action, an intensifying of Catholic life and the consequent strengthening of the whole Mystical Body in its every member. It can also be a great help to those outside the Church who still retain something of Christian Faith and practice. *Deus faxit*. (E. S. BERRY.)

Simon, Hadriano, C. SS. R., *Praelectiones Biblicae ad usum scholarum.* Vetus Testamentum. Liber Primus: *De Sacra Veteris Testamenti Historia.* (Taurini, Marietti, 1934, pp. ix, 546.) These *Praelectiones Biblicae* were begun by Hadriano Simon and continued by P. J. Prado, C. SS. R. They serve as an introduction to the study of Scripture and are arranged for students who are beginners in this field. The first volume introduces the student to the study of Scripture and treats of the sacred history of the people of the Old Testament. The purpose of the volume is to give the young student a taste for the Old Testament and, at the same time, a means to defend it against the attacks of independent critics. The presentation is clear, methodical and sufficiently positive to accomplish this purpose. The sacred history of the Old Testament is divided into four epochs: Origins, Beginnings of the Hebrew People, Monarchy, and Post-Exilic Restoration. Each division is subdivided into sections and paragraphs, with notes and explanations and completed by a generous bibliography. The author is certain enough in his presentation but avoids, at times, any positive declaration or conclusion on some intriguing points in Old Testament history. (Joseph S. Considine, O. P.)

Suhard, Msgr. Archbishop of Rheims, **Léon Merklen**, A. A., **Paul Chanson**, **Louis le Fur**, Msgr. **Vanneufville**, **Paul Dabin**, S. J., *La Continuité pontificale.* (Paris, Maison de la bonne Presse, 1935, pp. 283.) The Institute of Pius XI was founded in Paris in 1929 for the purpose of studying the pronouncements of the Roman pontiffs and of making better known the doctrine contained in their encyclicals. The present volume is a symposium of five lectures given by professors of the Institute during the first two months of 1935. The problem of papal continuity is treated by each of the writers from a different viewpoint and only in so far as it touches the pronouncements of the four latest popes. These four pontiffs differed more or less in temperament, character, and ability and one should expect that they would approach the selfsame problem in a different way and that their views on the solution of the problem would differ. However, the present volume shows clearly and decisively that in spite of apparent differences, the attitude of Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV, and Pius XI towards specific problems was merely a continuation, a building-up, a further application of the same policy and principles. These principles, enunciated by Leo XIII, were developed and applied by each of those who succeeded him. There is nothing in history comparable to the phenomenon of such continuity in ideals and in the means of attaining these ideals, and, as the Archbishop of Rheims remarks in his lucid introduction to the volume, it can be explained only by viewing the Church as the living, mystical Body of Christ: *les Papes meurent, mais le Pape ne meurt pas.* The first paper explains the true concept of papal continuity and the spirit in which apparent differences are to be solved. Papal continuity in the solution of social, national, and international problems is treated in three separate papers and the subject is rounded out by a final paper on the apostolic continuity of the four latest popes. Each lecture is presented in a clear, concise, and brilliant style, and it is hoped that President Baton will continue to publish the lectures given at the Institute. (**Donald Shearer**, O. M. Cap.)

Taylor, D. Crane, *John L. Stoddard: Traveller, Lecturer, Litterateur.* (New York, P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1935, pp. ix, 325, $3.00.) Just as *Stoddard's Lectures* will undoubtedly remain one of the most popular collections of travel books for years to come, the life of Stoddard himself, as told in his *Rebuilding of a Lost Faith* and *Twelve Years in the Catholic Church,* will be recorded as one of the most interesting chapters of American convert history. Now comes this well-done biography of Stoddard by a man himself not of the household of the Faith. This latter fact should be taken into consideration by those who might be tempted to find fault with Mr. Taylor for having added little to our knowledge of Mr. Stoddard's change of faith; but Mr. Taylor more than makes up for any deficiency in this respect by the picture he gives of the young New Englander hedged in by Calvinism on one side and Congregationalism on the other, craving for something he could not find in Protestantism and finally becoming skeptical of all organized religion. From the standpoint of literature this book is above the ordinary; as a work of travel it has something of the Stoddard about it; as biography it is a sympathetic study of a man whom the author reverences yet writes of with restraint, that shows a critical insight not only with regard to the matter chosen but also in reference to the way it is handled. There are a few slips, such as calling matter eternal, "because its atoms are indestructible" (page 272); but taken all in all, it is a splendid account of a man who exemplified much that is fine in American Catholicism. Mr. Taylor is an alumnus of the universities of Chicago and Oxford, a traveller himself and, at present, assistant professor of English in the Central Y. M. C. A. College in Chicago. (Joseph B. Code.)

Turner, Frederick Jackson, *The United States, 1830-1850: The Nation and Its Sections.* With an Introduction by Avery Craven. (New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1935, pp. xiv, 602, $4.50.) This book was long in the making—over 15 years. Even so, it lay unfinished when Professor Turner died, March 14, 1932. One chapter (on Taylor's administration and the Compromise of 1850) was unwritten; another (on Polk and the expansion of slavery) was in an early stage of composition; and, as Dr. Craven says in his introductory appreciation, "all awaited final revision." But there was not absent from the pages as Professor Turner left them the spirit of the author. What has always made the infrequent appearance of a Turner publication (essay or book) an event in historical circles were his unusual powers of interpretation and characterization, especially his understanding and portrayal of the interplay of section upon section. These qualities justify the salvaging of this manuscript. It is social history more than it is political. Well-known facts assume new groupings and significant explanation when read in the light of sectional interest. But it is not a book for the novice: it is assumed that the general pattern of American life is well fixed in the mind of the reader. To such it is stimulating and provocative reading. The early chapters present a survey of the sections (New England, Middle Atlantic States, South Atlantic States, South Central States, North Central States, Texas and the Far West), showing the many factors which were to govern their actions, and their racial and geographical influences. These sections are then brought together in the arena of national politics where their behaviour is explained on the basis of their sectional and intersectional traits.

A book by Professor Turner without maps is unthinkable. There are 33 in this volume. Some of the more crudely drawn ones recall a profitable year to the reviewer when Professor Turner was affiliated with Carnegie Institution of Washington. Memory recalls this unforgettable scholar and gentleman on the floor with his newly-made maps interpreting them to the staff in much the same manner as they are explained in this volume. (LEO F. STOCK.)

VAN DUZER, CHARLES HUNTER, Ph. D., *Contribution of the Ideologues to French Revolutionary Thought.* [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Series LIII, No. 4.] (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1935, pp. 176, $1.50.) "Ideology is an interpretation of knowledge based on the assumption that all ideas and all the faculties of human understanding—perception, memory, judgment and will—are compounds of sensations." With the foregoing definition in mind, Dr. Van Duzer attempts to trace the influence of a little-known group of French philosophers who flourished in the period 1790 to 1800. The chief members of the group were Cabanis and Destutt de Tracy. The sensationism of Condillac was the germ of the movement and the Ideologues did little more than systematize and adapt to contemporary needs a somewhat restricted and ill-formed theory of knowledge. It is obvious that the name "Ideology" is a rather poor one for this minor philosophic school. Its present general use in philosophical circles to denote any systematic theory of knowledge is much more consonant with its etymology. In the moral and the political spheres the efforts of the Ideologues were directed towards an absolute separation of ethics and politics from the influence of theology. The method which they advocated was that of a rather diluted positivism. In education they emphasized the value of the analytical method. By it they hoped (in the optimistic fashion of Rousseau) to improve the human race immeasurably. The Ideologues had an abounding faith in the doctrine of human perfectibility.

Dr. Van Duzer has assembled a good deal of useful information about this philosophic and historical movement. He is not however, in spite of his insistence on the value of objective treatment (p. 16), an impartial historian. One of the basic suppositions of the book is that any movement to separate moral philosophy from religion is *ipso facto* a mark of progress. Another postulate, which may be unconscious, is that modern educational methods are in all ways superior to the classical methods of the Catholic *Collèges* in France. Added to these unjustified assumptions there is a thoroughly uncritical use of secondary sources in this study. Thus many pages contain nothing more than synopses of the findings of D. Mornet in the field of the intellectual history of France. Finally, there are internal inconsistencies in this work which decrease its value. The author never gives a wholly adequate description of French Ideology. It is obviously more than a theory of knowledge; yet the definition offered is merely epistemological. In the early part of the book Picavet is criticized for including among the Ideologues "all those who continued the philosophical traditions of the eighteenth century" (p. 13, note 2); and later the author remarks, "The Ideologues may be regarded, not only as adherents of Condillac and his school, but, more generally, as continuators (through the period of the Revolution itself) of eighteenth-century thought" (pp. 94-95). French thought in the eighteenth century is somewhat obscure; this study brings only a little clarification to it. (VERNON J. BOURKE.)

VINCENT, JOHN MARTIN, Professor Emeritus of European History, Johns Hopkins University, *Aids to Historical Research.* [Century Historical Series.] (New York and London, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934, pp. vii, 173, $2.25.) This volume is based upon the same author's *Historical Research: an Outline of Theory and Practice* (1911, reprinted 1929). It is a briefer review of the subject, primarily intended for beginners and dealing mainly with processes employed in external criticism. The chapters concern the Definition of History, Testing the Materials, Diplomatics, Palaeography, Chronology, the Seal, Heraldry, Weights, Measures, and Money; Genealogy, Diplomacy, Geography, and Historical Evidence. There is appended a selected bibliography bearing on these divisions. The earlier work contains 327 pages of text as against 155 in this epitome. While the essentials of historical criticism are adequately presented and well illustrated, and while the bibliography gains by the addition of more recent titles, the graduate student will miss much of the excellent material to be found in the author's former treatment, especially those sections which deal with the processes of internal criticism, materials (such as newspapers), presentation, style, etc. (L. F. STOCK.)

WENDEL, HERMANN, *Danton.* Translated from the German. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1935, pp. xviii, 356, $3.75.) This English translation of Hermann Wendel's *Danton* calls to mind W. T. Goodge's little jingle:

> "Do men revere Shakespeare's name?
> To Shakespeare it is all the same.
> Is Danton's memory detested?
> Well, Danton isn't interested."

Whether Danton is interested or not, historians of the French Revolution have been slinging verbal ammunition at each other's theses for many years on the question of his morals and integrity. The two great protagonists of this battle of research were Alphonse Aulard and Albert Mathiez. The former did his utmost to uphold the worth and character of Danton; Mathiez treated his colleague's researches on Danton with the utmost scorn. The battles still rages among the ranks of their respective students.

The biography under discussion professes to follow a middle course, but it is impossible for the reader to escape a suspicion that the author reserves his allegiance for the ideas of M. Aulard. The result of Herr Wendel's researches, however, is a most readable biography of this controversial character whose short life of thirty-five years exerted such a decisive influence on the course of the French Revolution. The greater part of the five sections into which he has divided his study are devoted to the last five decisive years of Danton's career; the first brief part comprises a description of the thirty uneventful years between Danton's birth and the fall of the Bastille, 1789. A satisfactory bibliography, an index of proper names, and a number of interesting illustrations including a handy map of Revolutionary Paris, add to the value of the volume. (J. J. M.)

WILGUS, A. CURTIS (Ed.), *Argentina, Brazil and Chile since Independence.* (Washington, D. C., The George Washington Press, 1935, pp. ix, 481, $3.00.) As the title indicates, this volume containing the lectures of the third seminar conference at George Washington University in the summer of 1934 covers the history of the so-called A B C countries of South America since their independence from Spain. Ten lectures on Argentina, eleven on Brazil, and ten on Chile are contributed, respectively, by Professor J. F. Rippy of Duke University, Professor P. A. Martin of Stanford University, and Professor I. J. Cox of Northwestern University. An introductory lecture by Professor A. C. Wilgus treats the "Colonial Antecedents of the A B C Countries," while the introductory contribution by Professor N. A. Cleven is a portrayal of "The Political Heritage of Spanish America." The series of lectures on Argentina and Chile are more or less generously supplied with footnote references, a feature that possibly makes this volume more satisfactory to the critical historian than the preceding volume. Without wishing to underrate the fine scholarship manifested in each of the three sets of lectures, the present reviewer regards Professor Cleven's contribution particularly noteworthy. It is the finest piece of historial scholarship he has read for a long time. Needless to add, both these volumes are herewith recommended to teachers and students of Hispanic American history. Like the Center of Inter-American Studies, under whose auspices the lectures are delivered, they are certainly paving the way to a better understanding of our southern neighbors and to a healthier appreciation of the many problems that have these long years been waiting for a fair and honest solution. (F. B. S.)

WIRTH, FREMONT P., *The Development of America.* (New York, American Book Company, 1936, pp. lxviii, 772.) In the current *Year Book of the Social Studies*, Howard E. Wilson of Harvard sees three lines along which reform is needed in the treatment of American history in our schools, *viz.*, "the need for reanalysis of the subject matter; the need for revising the curriculum in order to avoid undesirable repetition and overlapping; and the need for a wider view of method calculated not to stifle intellectual growth but to encourage it." The author of the book reviewed has consciously attempted to meet the first of these needs as he has aimed to select his teaching materials on a functional basis. In accord with the popular conception of a well-balanced American history diet, very few pages are devoted to the period of exploration and discovery, while the heavy emphasis is placed on the modern period. He says: "While the earlier phases of our history have not been omitted, greater emphasis is placed on the recent period." Parenthetically it might be asked when does the student young or old learn anything about the beginnings of our history? On each level of learning this period seems to have fallen into disrepute. On the other hand, there exists an overlapping between Senior High School courses in American History and courses in Recent Problems in Democracy. Professor Carleton J. H. Hayes sounded the warning at the annual meeting of the National Council for The Social Studies: "But the worst fault of all in the school teaching of history today, in my opinion, is the prevalent assumption that while yesterday may help to explain today, day-before-yesterday will help less, the day before that less still. It is analogous to the assumption that the man of fifty years of age might profitably recall what befel him when he was forty-nine or forty-eight but should sternly banish from his mind all the impressions and experiences he acquired in his childhood and youth, in his twenties and thirties. What a bewildered, absent-minded man he would be! And what a bewildered, absent-minded world confronts us, brought up on current events!" This text gives a fair presentation of the war of the sections with, however, a somewhat more sympathetic treatment of the southern viewpoint. The additional readings have been carefully chosen; the pedagogical devices are various and ample; and there is an exceptionally fine index of twenty-five pages. An objection might be made to the weight of the book. It is possible that the secondary school student would overlook the fact that it is "intellectually substantial as well as physically voluminous." (Sister MARY CELESTE, R. S. M.)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

Relations of Church and State Historically Considered. V. J. K. Brook (*Churchman*, July).
The Catholic Church and the Totalitarian State. Edward Quinn (*Downside Review*, July).
History *vs.* Propaganda. J. J. O'Conor (*Light*, September).
Some Hidden Hands in History. Douglas Woodruff (*Downside Review*, July).
The Spirit of Science in History. (*London Times Literary Supplement*, July 18).
Alchemical Writings in Vatican Palatine and certain other Continental Latin Manuscripts. Lynn Thorndike (*Speculum*, July).
Political and Religious Status of the Jewish People in the Days of Our Lord. J. I. Schade (*Ecclesiastical Review*, August).
The Organization of the Holy Office. Francis Darwin (*Church Quarterly Review*, July).
The Last Days of St. Paul. F. R. Montgomery-Hitchcock (*Church Quarterly Review*, July).
Konstantin og Kristendommen. H. P. L'Orange (*Samtiden*, August).
Rôle of the Nestorians as the Connecting Link between Greek and Arabic Medicine. A. O. Whipple (*Annals of Medical History*, July).
Les Croisades et le rôle qu'y joua la Marine. André Deschard (*Revue des Études Historiques*, April-June).
St. Teresa and the Dominicans. Archbishop Alban Goodier (*Month*, September).
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A Possible Marsilian Source in Ockham. J. G. Sikes (*English Historical Review*, July).
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